HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P. F. X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

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BOOK XII.

HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE:

WHEREIN WILL BE FOUND

ALL THAT RELATES TO THE DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF THE FRENCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

BOOK XII.

1688.

Some of our allies attack the Iroquois.

Of all our allies, the only ones whom our enemies feared or despaired of gaining were the Abénaquis, who for their part cared little whether they were or were not included in the treaties of peace or armistice. At the very time when Mr. de Dénonville was laboring most earnestly to give peace to Canada, they took the field, and advancing to Sorel river, surprised some Iroquois and Mohegans and killed several. They then pushed on to the English settlements, from which they brought back some scalps.[1] The Iroquois of the Sault and the Mountain did the same on their side;[2] but those who adopted the surest means of defeating the conclusion of a treaty, of which they feared they should be the first victims, were

[1] Relation of the Events of the War. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 392; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 67; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 29. [2] Ib.

1688. those very Hurons of Michillimackinac, who had been so frequently and not unjustly suspected of collusion with the English and Iroquois.

Daring act of a Huron chief.

They had as chief Kondiaronk, better known in our Relations under the name of "the Rat," a man of ability, extremely brave, and the Indian of the highest merit that the French ever knew in Canada. It had cost Mr. de Dénonville no little pains to draw him to our interests;[1] but he had miscalculated, if he thought to dispose of this new ally at his pleasure. The Rat having pledged his word to make active war on the Iroquois, started from Michillimackinac with a picked band of Hurons, bent on distinguishing himself by some brilliant achievement.[2] He took Catarocouy on his road, and on arriving there learned that they were negotiating a settlement with the cantons; that the treaty was well advanced, and that the Governor General was expecting at Montreal ambassadors and hostages in the name of the whole Iroquois nation. The commandant at Catarocouy added that the best thing he could do under such circumstances was to return home with his warriors, and that he would give boundless offence to Mr. de Dénonville, if he committed the least hostility against the Iroquois.

The Rat seemed at first somewhat surprised at this news; he nevertheless controlled himself, and although convinced that his nation and their allies were being sacrificed, he let no complaint escape him.[3] He withdrew from the fort, leaving the French under the impression that he took the route to his village; but he had quite a different design in his head. He had inquired as to the course to be followed by the Iroquois deputies and hostages on their way to Montreal; he proceeded to await them at Hungry Bay (Anse de la Famine), where he lay in

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[1] Kondiaronk is transformed by La Hontan into Adario. Voyages, i., 117, 189.

[2] La Hontan, in his letter from Michillimackinac, May 26, 1688, notes Le Rat's departure at the head of 100 men. Voyages, i., 117, 190.

[3] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 190.

ambush.[1] After he had waited for them for several days, they appeared; he allowed them to advance, and as they were proceeding without distrust, they landed without taking any precautions. This moment the Rat seized to rush upon them with his troop. At first they wished to stand their ground, but the contest was too unequal. Some of them were killed, the rest taken prisoners.[2] 1688.

As they were not far from Catarocouy, the Rat, it is asserted, returned thither alone after his expedition; and when some one asked where he came from, he replied that he had just come from killing the peace, and added: "We shall see how Ononthio will get out of this business." His meaning was not at first understood;[3] but it was soon known from one of the prisoners who had escaped from the hands of the Hurons, after having had an arm broken in the action. He was so well treated, that he was cured in a short time; he was assured that the French had no share in this treachery of the Hurons, and was so well satisfied of it, that on his return to Onondaga he convinced the whole canton.[4]

His intrigues to involve the French with the Iroquois.

But the Rat had not begun so well, to stop here. As soon as he rejoined his party, Teganissorens, who was one of his prisoners, having asked him how he could be ignorant that he was an ambassador, sent to treat of peace with their common father, and to seek means of obtaining a perfect peace among all the nations? this dissembler pretended to be still more astonished than he; he protested that it was the French themselves who had sent him to La Famine, assuring him that he would there meet a party of Iroquois braves, which it would be very easy for him to surprise and defeat. To show that he spoke

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[1] Anonymous Relation of the Events of the War (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 391) says La Famine, but La Hontan (Voyages, i., p. 190) says: "Aux endroits des Cataractes, où il falloit absolument qu'ils abordassent," which does not at all correspond with Hungry Bay.

[2] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 191.

[3] Belmont (Histoire du Canada, p. 29) confirms this in part.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 402.

1688. sincerely, he at once released him with all his men, except one single one, whom he wished to retain, he said, to replace one of his, who had been killed.[1]

He then used all diligence in returning to Michillimakinac, and as soon as he arrived there he presented his prisoner to Mr. de la Durantaye. That commandant, as yet uninformed of his general's negotiations with the cantons, at once condemned the unfortunate man to be shot, wishing apparently to spare him the torture of fire. The Iroquois in vain protested that he was an ambassador, and that the Hurons had taken him by treachery; the Rat had already notified all that his head was turned, and that fear of death made him rave. Accordingly, no one listened to him, and he was executed.[2]

As soon as he was dead, the Rat called an old Iroquois, who had long been a captive in his village, gave him his liberty, and advised him to return to his canton and inform his countrymen of what he had seen just passing before his eyes, as well as show them that while the French were amusing the cantons with feigned negotiations, they were making prisoners from them and tomahawking them. All this met with perfect success, and although the Iroquois seemed at first undeceived as to the pretended ill-faith of the Governor General, we shall soon see, either that they only pretended to be so, or that the majority were not sorry to have so plausible a pretext for renewing the war.[3]

The Governor of New York prevents peace.

The wisest were nevertheless determined to send new deputies to the Marquis de Dénonville. These deputies were even already selected, and about to start for Montreal, when an express arrived at Onondaga from Sir Edmund Andros, forbidding the Iroquois to treat with the French without his master's intervention. He added that

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[1] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 191.

[2] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 192.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 391, 393, 402; Canada Doc., I., iv., 65, 85; La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 192. Colden (History of the Five Nations, p. 112 N. Y. edition) and Smith (History of New York, p. 56) follow La Hontan.

the Governor took the cantons under his safeguard, and assured them of the protection of the king of Great Britain, and that his Majesty, who considered them as his own children, would never let them want for any thing.[1] 1688.

Andros wrote at the same time to the Marquis de Dénonville, that he must not flatter himself that he could make peace with the Iroquois, subjects of the English crown, under any other conditions than those already proposed by Colonel Dongan, his predecessor; that in other respects, so far as he was personally concerned, he was most disposed to live on good terms with him, and that he had already forbidden the English of his dependance to commit any hostility on the territories dependent on the French. As this governor also commanded in New England, after such a declaration, there was every ground to expect that no part of New France was free from risk on the part of the English.[2]

But under the term New France that General apparently included neither Acadia nor the circumjacent provinces, although the treaty of Breda declared them to form a part thereof; for while he was making the protestation just mentioned to de Dénonville, he sent a force to plunder the settlement of the Baron de St. Castin at Pentagoët,[3] and the Sedentary Fisheries established at Camceaux and Chedabouctou.[4] It is true that he disavowed these enter-

[1] De Callières to Seignelay, Jan., 1689. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 402; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 113.

[2] Ib., pp. 402, 404. Andros to Dénonville, Aug. 21, Sept. 29, 1688. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 505. Dénonville to Andros, Oct., 1688. N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 567.

[3] Andros went in person in the frigate Rose, Capt. George. Hutchinson's Collections, pp. 562–6; Williamson's Maine, i., p. 587; Maine Hist. Coll., vi., p. 112; Dénonville, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 396. Dénonville to Andros, ib., iii., p. 568. This opened Castin's war, which proved so destructive to New England. For an enumeration of the French then settled in Maine, see Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., pp. 82–3.

[4] Dénonville to Andros. N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 571. Champigny to the Minister, Oct. 19. Can. Doc., II., v., p. 560. A letter of Captain Nicholson, written at Boston, Aug. 31, 1688 (N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 552), attributes this to one Peterson (the remainder of Yanekeys and Jacob's company, the two famous privateers of the West Indies). He sailed in a

1688. prises, but the French had certain proofs that he was the instigator of these as well as of the ravages committed in various parts of the colony by a party of three hundred Iroquois.[1] In a word, his whole conduct till war was declared between the two crowns, differed from that which he displayed after that declaration, only as the blackest perfidy differs from open war.[2]

State of trade in New France.

It may well be inferred, that in the actual position of Canadian affairs, trade could not be very flourishing. From the year 1669, when the king had declared it free, the colony had increased considerably, and by the census of this year, 1688, it was found to be composed of eleven thousand two hundred and forty-nine persons.[3] The English, indeed, as already remarked, from that time shared with the French in the fur trade; and this was the chief motive of their fomenting war between us and the Iroquois, inasmuch as they could get no good furs, which come from the northern districts, except by means of these Indians, who could scarcely effect a reconciliation with us, without precluding them from this precious mine.

Not that the Iroquois were great hunters; but, besides their often robbing our allies and voyageurs of the furs they were bearing to Montreal, they induced several tribes, and often even our bushlopers, to trade with the English of New York, and the profit which they derived from this trade, of which their country became of course the centre, retained them in the English interest. To these reasons was added the allurement of a better market, which made a great impression on all the Indians, so that the best part of the furs of Canada went to the English, without there being any possibility of bringing to reason those interested

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barkalonga of 10 guns and 12 patareres, with 70 men, took a bark of Castin's, a ship at Camceaux, the fort at Chebucto, and another vessel. Ib., p. 553.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 395.

[2] The revolution in England put an end to the rule of Andros, and he had of course no part in the war that followed.

[3] Recensements de la N. F., 1685 à 1699.

in this trade, the head men of which being in France, did not see matters as clearly as those who were in America.[1] 1688.

Sedentary Fisheries in the St. Lawrence.

At last some of these last renounced the fur trade, the profits of which declined from day to day, and took up once more the oft-miscarried project of establishing sedentary fisheries in the river St. Lawrence; but they were disgusted with it from the outset.[2] The Sieur Riverin was almost the only one who was not alarmed by the difficulties, or induced by the failure of his first attempt to renounce the enterprise. But with industry and courage considerable capital is required to push such establishments, and this Sieur Riverin lacked. He induced some private parties at Paris to join him; but he derived scarcely any advantage: all wished to reap before the harvest was ripe, and their impatience at last rendered all his projects abortive.[3]

Abundance of codfish and whales.

He began in earnest during the summer of 1688. He established his fishery in the vicinity of the River Matane, the mouth of which he found capable of receiving vessels of two hundred tons, a point hitherto unnoticed. All this southern shore of the St. Lawrence, for a space of twenty leagues, is very abundant in codfish, and Riverin wrote to Mr. de Seignelay that more than five hundred boats could

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[1] The importance of this trade, which Dongan was the first to grasp at, was developed under Burnet and Colden. See Colden's Five Nations (N. Y. reprint), introd., vii.; Papers relating to the Acts of the Assembly, N. Y., 1724.

In this year, 1688, a Bureau of the Poor was established at Quebec, each citizen and community contributing, and forming a fund of 2000 livres. Subsequently, Bp. St. Valier established a General Hospital or House for the Aged, Infirm, and Incurable, and placed it, in 1689, under Margaret Bourgeoys and the Sisters of the Congregation. Juchereau (Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, pp. 355–6; Faillon, Vie de M. Bourgeoys, i., p. 329); but, in 1692, replaced them by the Hospital Nuns, on receiving royal permission for the establishment of the Hospital. Edits et Ordonnances (i., p. 271).

[2] Louis XIV. to Frontenac. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 454. See, as to his failure, ib., p. 585. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 267. Ferland, Côtes de la Gaspésie (Soirées Canadiennes), p. 328. Compare Ante, vol. iii., p. 145. Quebec L. and H. Soc., vol. iv., p. 27, &c.

[3] In 1700 these partners seized all the property at Mount Louis as their own, and ruined him. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 585.

1688. be employed there at once. He added in his letter that the fish there were very fine, and fit for Gibraltar, Spain, and the Levant; that having given orders to his men to be on the lookout for whales, especially near Matane, they had reported to him that there appeared on the surface, from time to time, as many as fifty at once, that allowed men to approach near enough to strike them with an oar; that this lasted for three consecutive months, during most of which time it is unnecessary to be much more than a quarter of a league out to find them.[1]

I have remarked in my journal, that having anchored in the latter part of August, 1705, near Tadoussac, about fifteen leagues above Matane, I saw four whales at the same time sporting around our ship, and coming so near that they could be touched with the oars of the long boat;[2] but it was chiefly on the coast of Acadia that the fishery offered an inexhaustible basis for this trade. The misfortune is that the French, possessors of that great peninsula, were always those who profited least by it.

What prevents the French profiting by the Acadian fisheries.

The Sieur Paquine, whom the Court had sent there that year to make a visitation, attributed this to the fact of their having made the chief settlement at Port Royal, which is, he said, out of the reach of all trade, and too difficult of access, on account of the diversity of winds necessary to have in order to enter. This was a very old and well-founded complaint. The ports of la Héve and Camceaux were far more advantageous for a successful settlement. A person still better informed than the Commissary just mentioned, says, in a Memoir drawn up almost at this same time:

"Acadia, so useful for the beauty and security of its ports, the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its fisheries, the facility for rendering them sedentary, as well as for its mines, has hitherto only languished; first, from the dissen-

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[1] See Canada Documents, II., v., p. 354.

[2] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 65. Ferland, Cotes de la Gaspésie, p. 352.

sions of the various proprietors, and since the treaty of Breda from the avarice of the Governors, who, finding intercourse with the English a source of profit, have left them masters of the fisheries and of all the trade. The settlers, on their side, without discipline or restraint, have given no thought either to agriculture or the fisheries, but, sunk in debauchery or bushloping, do nothing but live from day to day."[1] 1688.

Efforts of the English to divert the Abénaquis from our interest.

The sole resource of the province lay in our alliance with the Indians of those parts, and especially of the Abénaquis, among whom Christianity had made great progress; but there was constant fear of our losing these allies, the most manageable and, at the same time, the bravest in all Canada. The English were incessantly making them presents and the most extravagant promises to detach them from our interest; and would certainly have succeeded, but for the invincible attachment of these tribes to their religion and their missionaries. In the sequel of this history we shall see, that in order to preserve their faith they often confronted the greatest perils, and that, with the slightest hope of compensation from the French for their losses, they formed on that side a rampart that all the forces of New England have never been able to storm.

The Chevalier de Callieres proceeds to France.

Meanwhile, the declaration of Sir Edmund Andros in regard to peace with the Iroquois, and the agreement which it was soon known the cantons had entered into with that governor, not to take any steps in that matter without his intervention, filled the whole colony with consternation. But it often happens that, when no ordinary means appears of avoiding a pressing evil, men make efforts till then deemed beyond their strength. Indignation to see a handful of savages keep a whole great country incessantly in check, inspired a design that would have seemed hardy, even had our situation been as flourishing as it was deplorable. This was the conquest of New York.

[1] Du Chesneau, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 166; ib., p. 285.

1688. The Chevalier de Callieres having laid the plan before the Marquis de Dénonville, went over to France to propose it to the Court, as the sole means of preventing the utter ruin of New France.

He presents a memoir the Court. Its contents.

The memoir on this subject which he presented to the minister[1] stated in substance, that as Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New York, was not a Catholic, the French must not flatter themselves that he would carry out in good faith the orders he had received from the king, his master, to maintain an understanding with us; that we could not in fact doubt but that, following the example of Colonel Dongan, his predecessor, he would by all sorts of means aid the Iroquois, who would never sincerely make peace with the French so long as they could rely on the English: that, this premised, there was no other way to preserve the colony, except to make ourselves masters of New York; and that this conquest was legitimate from the necessity in which the English had placed us of undertaking it, to defend our own territory against a nation whose interests they openly espoused against us. He then comes to the means of carrying out his project.

"Give me," he says, "1300 soldiers and 300 Canadians, and with them I will descend[2] the River Sorel to Lake Champlain, under pretext of going to make war on the Iroquois; and when I have arrived in their country, I will proclaim to them that I am willing to live in peace with them, and I aim only at the English. Orange (Albany) has only a stockade, not terrassed, and a small fort with four bastions, with only 150 soldiers and 300 settlers in the town. Manhatte (New York) has 400 inhabitants, divided into eight companies, half cavalry, and half infantry. This capital is not inclosed, but has a fort with four bastions, faced with

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[1] The memoir is in full, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 401–404, and the later one, 404–8.

[2] He should have said Ascend. *Charlevoix.* The author evidently cited from a summary (Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 150), not from the memoir. The error noted is not in the original. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 405; see, also, p. 429.

stone, and mounted with cannon. This conquest would make the king master of one of the finest ports in America, which can be entered at all times, and of a very fine country, under a mild climate, and fertile. The treaty of neutrality will be objected; but, in the first place, the English have violated it first; of this we have irrefragable proofs. In the second place, it must be observed, that this colony, being actually all filled with Dutch, from whom the English wrested it, its inhabitants will infallibly obey the Prince of Orange, and will constrain the Governor.[1] Hence they must be anticipated. Still, if it is preferred to defer matters till we are openly at war with the English,[2] we must prepare for the month of June next." 1688.

This memoir made an impression on the minister, and the king even approved it; but its execution was not confided to the Marquis de Dénonville.

It seems that his majesty had, from the preceding year, thought of recalling Dénonville, having selected him for the post of Governor of the Children of France; for I have had in my hands an order signed by that prince, dated March 8, 1688, by virtue whereof the Chevalier de Callieres, governor of Montreal, was to have command of the forces during the absence of the Governor General.[3] Nevertheless, whether the king changed his mind, or had reasons for deferring the execution of this project, there was nothing at the close of the year 1688 to prevent the Chevalier de Callieres from returning to France. It was not till the last day of May, in the ensuing year, that his majesty informed the Marquis de Dénonville that the circumstances of the war just enkindled in Europe had induced him to adopt the resolution of recalling him, in order to give him a position in his army. 1689. The Marquis de Dénonville recalled to France.

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[1] France was already at war with Holland. *Charlevoix.*

[2] No doubt was entertained of the proximity of this war. Ib.

[3] The summary of the Minister's answers represents this as merely a renewal of a commission given the year before. The expression would not therefore necessarily imply that Dénonville was recalled.

1689. Count de Frontenac was at the same time declared his successor.[1] The king had not been able to refuse this favor to the pressing solicitations of several of the relatives and friends of that nobleman, and especially those of the Marshal de Bellefont, who guaranteed his conduct, and whose lofty virtue was a strong recommendation to Louis XIV.[2] Moreover, the wretched state to which New France was reduced, and the project of the conquest of New York, required him to place at the head of the colony a man of authority, firm in character, of great military experience, already acquainted with the country, and capable of managing the Indian mind. All this was found in the Count de Frontenac, and there was every reason to hope that, with the sound sense which he possessed, he would profit by his faults and the chagrin which they had drawn upon him, to moderate his passions, and take other guides for his conduct than his prejudices and antipathies. These conjectures proved quite well founded. This general, indeed, always seemed the same to those who had the best opportunity of seeing him; but he was on his guard, and profited by the advice which he received from the Marshal de Bellefont. On the other hand, he had the finest opportunity in the world to develop his great qualities and make a glorious use of them. He rendered most important services to the state, especially during the early years of his new administration, to induce the Court to close its eyes as to several faults which escaped him, and oblige those who soon perceived that he had not changed his sentiments in their regard, to suffer in patience, and dissemble wisely.

Count Frontenac succeeds him.

His instructions as to Hudson's Bay.

In the instructions given him, which were signed on the 7th of June, the king informed him that on the reports received in France and England, as to the reciprocal invasions of the posts established in Hudson's Bay by the English and French, conferences had been held at London

[1] Commission in Arrêts et Ordonnances, iii., p. 52.

[2] His wife is represented as having done much to obtain his appointment.

between his commissioners and those of Great Britain; 1689.
but that the parties, not having been able to agree as to the facts alleged by those interested, it had been agreed to postpone the negotiation till the month of January in the present year, 1689; that the revolution which had taken place in England in the mean time had broken off all these measures; and that, as it was probable that the English had not yet thought of taking their precautions on that side, his Majesty wished him to give the Northern Company all the protection it should require, to expel them from the posts which they had wrested from it.[1]

Coming then to Acadian affairs, the king informed him, Acadia.
that in the last conferences between the commissioners of the two crowns, the irruption recently made by the Bastonnois[2] at Pentagoët had been discussed; that the English commissioners had conceded that this post belonged to France, and had deferred indemnifying him for the violence of which he complained till the resumption of the negotiations; that as this project was no longer possible, in consequence of the rupture of the conference, it would be necessary for him to concert with the Sieur de Menneval, governor of Acadia, measures necessary to prevent in future similar irruptions, to which the war, apparently inevitable and imminent, constantly exposed that part of New France.[3]

War was in fact declared with England on the 25th of

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[1] Instructions for Count de Frontenac. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 427. Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 216.

[2] Bastonnois was the general name given by the Canadians to the English settlers from any of the colonies, as distinguished from Dutch, French, &c. Old Canadians still use it. From the French Canadians it passed to the Indians. The Iroquois called the English of New York Wastonronnon (Baston people)—see letter of Brant in Ulster Hist. Collections—as did the Hurons (Potier, Grammaire Huronne). The French Canadians have carried it even to the Pacific, and in the Chinook Jargon Boston means American. Gibb's Chinook Jargon, p. 2.

[3] Instructions for Count de Frontenac. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 428; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 222. Robineau de Menneval was a son of the Baron de Bécancourt. Ferland, Cours d'Hist., ii., p. 176.

1689. the same month of June; but, as it had been resolved on several months before, the principal article of the instructions of which we are speaking concerned the plan proposed by the Chevalier de Callieres. It stated that the king had determined to accept the proposition of the Governor of Montreal, inasmuch as he was informed that for some years the English of New York had continued to excite the Iroquois nation, his Majesty's subjects, and force them to make war on the French, for this purpose furnishing them with arms and ammunition, and had sought, by all sorts of means, regardless of the prohibition of the King of England and the faith of the treaty, to usurp the commerce of the French in countries of which the latter had of all time been in possession. That, for all these reasons, his Majesty had ordered the Sieur Bégon, his intendant at Rochefort in the Pays d'Aunis and Saintonge, to prepare all necessary supplies, and had fitted out in the port of Rochefort two of his ships of the line, under the command of the Sieur de la Caffiniere, who was to obey exactly the orders of the Count de Frontenac.

The enterprise against New York.

Plan of this enterprise.

That it was his intention that the said Count de Frontenac should set out as soon as possible, and embark on one of the ships commanded by the Sieur de la Caffiniere, to proceed first to the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, then to the Bay of Camceaux, in Acadia; that on arriving there he should pass to the best of the merchant ships that had followed him, in order to return to Quebec; but that before parting with the Sieur de la Caffiniere, he ordered him to wait for information, and to seize all the enemy's ships that he might meet during his stay on the coast; that for himself, as soon as time and opportunity permitted, and even, if possible, on entering the St. Lawrence river, he should detach the Chevalier de Callieres, in order that the latter might reach Quebec before him, and there make the necessary preparations for the enterprise against New York; that he must especially take care to observe profound secrecy, and endeavor to cloak these

preparations with such pretexts as he should deem most suitable and plausible. 1689.

That it was also most important to employ the greatest diligence, his Majesty being convinced that the enterprise could not be effected in any other season than autumn; that, accordingly, the Count de Frontenac, immediately after his arrival at Quebec, should set out with the batteaux and all the necessary crews, accompanied by the Chevalier de Callieres, who was to command the troops under him; that he should at the same time send his instructions in cypher to the Sieur de la Caffiniere, and recommend him to sail for Manhattan, without undertaking any thing on the way; to seize all the vessels he should find in the bay; but not to expose himself to any adventure that could incapacitate him from taking part in the enterprise in question.

That as it was impossible to fix a positive time when the Sieur de la Caffiniere and the Count de Frontenac should arrive together, each on his side, it was best for the former to sail straight into the Bay of Manhattan, the more especially as the attack on the first posts of New York would warn the capital, and thus the ships arriving there before the land forces would cause a useful diversion; that as the Count de Frontenac would have with him all the forces of New France, he should, before leaving Quebec, arrange with the Marquis de Dénonville the measures requisite to be adopted for the security of the colony against the incursions of the Iroquois, and give orders to the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who was to command in the country during the expedition, after the departure of the Marquis de Dénonville, and whose instructions were to be drawn up by the two generals.

What was to be done after the conquest of that province.

On the reduction of New York, the Count de Frontenac was to leave there the English Catholics who chose to remain, after assuring himself of their fidelity; allot to the French whom he should settle there, mechanics and other workpeople whom they might need; retain as prisoners

1689. the officers and chief settlers, for whom good ransoms might be expected, and send all the rest, men and women, into New England or Pennsylvania; but, as he was not to wait for the late season to return to Quebec, for fear of being stopped on the way by the ice, he had orders to confide the execution of all that remained to be done to the Chevalier de Callieres, whom the king intended for the government of New York, and of the city and fort of Manhattan, under the authority of the Governor-General of New France. Finally, one of the principal fruits of the victory was to be a solid peace with the Iroquois cantons, which, no longer able to hope for assistance from the English, would have no further temptation to give trouble; and to deprive the other English colonies of facilities for setting on foot any enterprise against us by land, it was expressly enjoined on the Count de Frontenac to destroy all the settlements near Manhattan, and put all the rest under contribution.[1]

Failure of the enterprise. Why.

A project so well arranged, with its execution confided to officers whose name seemed to guarantee success, had one defect which entailed failure. It depended on the concurrence of two things that can never be certainly counted on, namely, favorable winds and equal diligence in all appointed to make the preparations. The plan proposed by the Governor of Montreal was much more simple than that adopted: it was, too, less expensive: it did not depend on the caprice of wind and wave, but was controlled by one head, the best in Canada. By adding some precautions against the Iroquois, easily adopted, it would infallibly have succeeded; but, in the way that things were arranged, it required a kind of miracle to attain the end in view.

Not but that the measures were well concerted on the part of the king and his minister; but the slightest fault

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[1] Instructions for the Invasion of New York. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 422–6; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 198, et seq.

in the execution of a single article was enough to derange the whole, and several were committed. The first was the negligence of those to whom the equipment of the ships was confided. "The repairs of the frigate Embuscade," says Mr. de Callieres in one of his letters, "which detained us twenty-seven days at Rochelle, caused this delay, with the necessity of escorting merchantmen, generally heavily laden and poor sailers." 1689.

The result was that not till the 12th of September could Mr. de Frontenac reach Chedabouctou, which had been assigned as a rendezvous for the vessels; and the merchantmen, which had been separated from him for a week by the constant fogs on the Great Bank of Newfoundland, did not rejoin him till the 18th. The next day he left the Embuscade, on which he had sailed thus far, and embarked on the Saint Francis Xavier, after arranging with Mr. de la Caffiniere what it was prudent to do at so advanced a season. The instructions which he left him prove that, if he did not yet renounce the New York expedition, he did not reckon much on its success.

Instructions given to Mr. de la Caffiniere by the Count de Frontenac.

These instructions directed that, as soon as he completed taking in wood and water, he should sail in the Fourgon to escort the Union to Port Royal, where that ship was to discharge ammunition and provisions; that he should carry off all the English vessels he might meet on his way, but without entering into any hazardous engagement; that he should especially endeavor to get an English pilot, who could instruct him as to the best anchorages from Boston to Manhattan; that he should make as short a stay as possible at Port Royal, where he was to acquire all information necessary for the execution of his design, without disclosing it to any one except Mr. de Manneval, governor of Acadia, giving all others to understand that he had orders only to cruise off the coast and prevent the enemy from continuing their ravages.

That he should then sail straight for Manhattan; and if he should reach the bay before the first of November, he

1689. was not to approach within sight of the city or fort, but should hold himself at some good anchorage till the 15th of the same month, and employ the interval in all matters relating to his landing; that he should then without hesitation show himself, but keep out of gunshot, pretending to be there only to cruise at the entrance of the harbor, in order to prevent any thing from going in or out. That if, after waiting till the 10th of December, he received no intelligence from him, he might sail back to France; but that as he passed Port Royal he should land all the ammunition and supplies intended for the land forces, and shut them up in the storehouses, so that they could be found there the following year, should they be disposed to make another attempt for the conquest of New York.[1]

Mr. de Frontenac arrives at Montreal.

This was the course adopted by Mr. de la Caffiniere: he made several captures before reaching Port Royal, and some subsequently;[2] but to all appearance head winds prevented his entering that port, either on his way to Manhattan or back, for we shall soon see that place in great want of all that that officer had orders to leave there. Mr. de Frontenac, on his side, left Chedabouctou on the 19th of September, with all the vessels intended for Quebec, and did not reach Isle Percée till the 25th. He would not anchor, contenting himself with lying to in sight of the settlement.

The Recollect Fathers immediately came on board, and from them he learned that New France was in great consternation, caused by an irruption of the Iroquois into the island of Montreal.[3] This intelligence, of which they could not give him the details, made him eagerly seek an opportunity to send the Chevalier de Callieres on in advance, according to the orders which he had received from the king; but he could find none. They accordingly continued

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[1] Frontenac to Seignelay. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 37.

[2] He took six English ketches and a brigantine between Canseau and Port Royal. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 20.

[3] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 39.

their route together, and anchored off Quebec on the 12th of October;[1] they left it on the 20th, and on the 27th reached Montreal. There they found Mr. de Dénonville and Mr. de Champigny in the greatest perplexity that can be expressed, and this was the cause.

Irruption of the Iroquois into the Island of Montreal. Cruelties perpetrated by them.

On the 25th of August,[2] at the time when the French deemed themselves in the greatest security, fifteen hundred Iroquois made a descent before day on the quarter of La Chine,[3] which is on the south side of the island, about three leagues above the city. They found all the people asleep, and began by massacring the men; then they set fire to the houses.[4] By this means, all who had remained in them fell into the hands of these Indians, and experienced whatever fury can suggest to savages. They carried their fury even to excesses of which they had not been deemed capable. They opened the bodies of pregnant women, to tear out the fruit they bore; they put children alive on the spit, and forced the mothers to turn and roast them.[5] They invented a number of other unheard-of tortures; and thus, in less than an hour, two hundred persons, of every age and both sexes, perished in the most frightful tortures.[6]

This done, the enemy approached within a league of the city, everywhere committing the same ravages and perpetrating the same cruelties; and, when weary of these

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[1] Frontenac (N.Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 435), La Hontan (Voyages, i., p. 198), say October 15, at 8 P. M.

[2] The Observations on the State of Affairs (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 431) says August 5, N. S. Champigny's Letter, November 16 (ib., p. 435) says the same. Colden (History of the Five Nations, p. 115) and Smith (History of New York, p. 57) give July 26, O. S.

[3] For the origin of this place, see Vol. III., ante, p. 122. Belmont (Histoire du Canada, p. 29) says 1400 Iroquois. They passed Lake St. Louis at night, during a severe hail storm.

[4] Remy, Curé of La Chine, says only two houses, M. Bourgery's and one where he said mass, escaped.

[5] Frontenac's despatch, November 15. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 435.

[6] Belmont (Histoire du Canada, p. 30), writing on the spot, gives a list, but no exact number of killed. Frontenac's despatch, November 12, says 200 killed, 120 carried off. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 435. De Callieres (ib., p. 429) says 150 killed.

1689. horrors, they took two hundred prisoners, whom they carried off to their villages and burned.[1] At the first tidings of this tragic affair, Dénonville, who was at Montreal, ordered la Robeyre, a lieutenant in the army, to throw himself into a fort[2] which he feared the enemy would carry. That officer had scarcely entered it, before it was invested by a body of Iroquois, against whom he long held out with great valor; but his soldiers, who fought with desperation, having been killed to a man, and he himself severely wounded, the assailants entered the fort and took him prisoner.[3]

Then the whole island remained a prey to the victors, who overran the greatest part of it, leaving everywhere bloody traces of their fury, which the French were not able to oppose. It lasted till the middle of October; and as nothing was then heard of them, the General sent the Sieurs du Luth and Mantet[4] to the Lake of the Two

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[1] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 48. Belmont says 90 carried off.

[2] Fort Roland. Observations on the State of Affairs, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 431; Canada Doc., II., v., p. 48. The officer is styled there Rabeyre. A Lieut. signs La Rabelle in N. Y. Doc. H. i., p. 169. La Hontan writes la Raberre. Ferland (ii., p. 185), de la Robesle. Belmont (Histoire du Canada, p. 30) censures Vaudreuil for not cutting off a number whom he found drunk, and rescuing the prisoners. He does not mention the capture of Fort Roland, but says that Captain L'Arabelle and some Indians, sent to reinforce Vaudreuil, August 5, were cut to pieces, and L'Arabelle, La Plante, and Villedenné taken.

[3] La Hontan says de Longueil, the commander of the detachment, though wounded, was rescued by the French Indians; the other officers, la Raberre, St. Pierre Denis, la Plante, and Villedené, taken. He makes the detachment 100 French and 50 Indians. The Observations on the State of Affairs only 80 men. Lerigé de la Plante was rescued only in 1692. Ferland, ii., p. 243. On the massacre of La Chine, see also La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 193; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., ii., p. 229. Colden (History of the Five Nations, p. 115), followed by Smith (History of New York, p. 57), makes the French loss just 1000 killed, 26 carried off captive. The Iroquois loss, 3! A cotemporary authority, however, Col. N. Bayard, September 23, 1689 (N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 621), says: "They killed and took prisoners some say 300, some 400, whereof they brought about 130 to their castles."

[4] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 48. Daniel Greysolon du Luth was a brother-in-law of Mr. de Lusigny, an officer in the Count de Frontenac's guards, and was at the head of Cou

Mountains, to make sure of the enemy's retreat, in order to be able to give some rest to the troops, who had been for more than two months under arms night and day. These two officers met twenty-two Iroquois in two canoes, who with great haughtiness advanced to attack them. They received their first fire without a shot, then closed with them and killed eighteen. Of the four survivors, one escaped by swimming, the three others were taken and given up to the fires of our Indians.[1] 1689.

It was in such sad circumstances that Messieurs de Frontenac and de Callieres reached Montreal on the 22d of November. One of our Indians captured at the rout at La Chine, who escaped after having his nails plucked out and fingers gnawed or burnt, came to see the generals. Project of these Indians.

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reurs de Bois, under the protection of that governor. He seems to have been the earliest explorer of Minnesota, and the first to build a post beyond Lake Superior. He rescued Hennepin from the Sioux. He fortified Detroit, was on Dénonville's expedition after capturing McGregory, was then commandment of Fort Frontenac. He died in the winter of 1709–10.

De Manteht is called in Ferland (Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 186), Le Gardeur de Mantet; but it was apparently Nicholas Daillebоust, Sieur de Mantet, fifth son of Charles d'Aillebоust, Sieur des Musseaux. He was born in 1663 (Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 207), and was killed at Hudson's Bay in 1709 (Charlevoix, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, ii., p. 340), after serving in de la Barre's expedition against Schenectady, and in the West. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 235, 435, 466, &c.

[1] Frontenac and Champigny, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 435. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 48. Belmont (Histoire du Canada, p. 31) says only two were taken. He gives as the date October 16, and eulogizes Du Luth greatly.

There is little doubt as to the complicity of the New Yorkers in the Lachine massacre. War was declared by them May 7, 1689. A conference was held with the Iroquois, June 27, 1689. Colden's Five Nations (1747), p. 99. After it, in another conference in September, they were congratulated for their success, and urged to continue (ib., p. 102; Milet. Relation, p. 45). Phillips and Van Cortland (Letter, August 5, 1689) say: "The Cantons Indians Nations above Albany, hearing of a warr between England and France, are gone to fight the inhabitants of Canada." N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 608. Van Cortland (ib., p. 609) says, August 5, "the Indians are gone about a month agoe to fight the inhabitants of Canida." It was apparently instigated (see p. 645) so as to make peace between them and the French impossible, and thus save New York from "uttermost ruyne." See too Doc. Hist., ii., p. 49.

1689. He told them that it had been the original intention of the Iroquois to come down by the River des Prairies,[1] which separates Montreal Island from Isle Jesus; to begin their attack by the eastern extremity of the former, to ravage it completely, advancing westward, and not to leave a single Frenchman there; he did not know what had prevented their carrying out this plan, but that they were soon to return, to complete during the winter what they had begun; that then they proposed to make themselves masters of the town in the spring, and were to be joined by a great number of English and Mohegans; that they intended thence to go down to Three Rivers, then descend to Quebec, where they expected to find an English fleet, and they flattered themselves that at the end of that campaign there would be no French left in Canada.

Mr. de Dénonville and Champigny decide to abandon Catarocouy

Mr. de Frontenac then saw how important it would have been for him to have arrived three months earlier; because, even had he not reduced New York, he would at least have prevented what had happened, by putting the Iroquois and English on the defensive. To crown his chagrin, he learned that, in all probability, Fort Catarocouy was evacuated and ruined. In fact, Mr. de Dénonville had sent orders[2] to Mr. de Valrennes, who commanded that post, to abandon it, after blowing up the fortifications and burning the stores that he could not remove, provided no convoy reached him before the month of November. This information was the more surprising to the new governor as Dénonville had given these orders without awaiting the king's directions on the subject, which he had actually solicited himself; and that he had adopted the course after the Iroquois had insolently told them that they wished him to demolish that fort.

As he complained greatly of this step, both de Dénonville and de Champigny represented to him that Fort

[1] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 30. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 436.

[2] By the Sieur St. Pierre de Repentigny. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 195; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 436.

Catarocouy was situated at the head of a bay, and, occupying no passage, was of very limited utility; that supplies could be sent there only at heavy expense; that even firewood had to be sent up, as the garrison could not be sufficiently large to go and cut wood in the forest, without being exposed to Iroquois ambuscades; and that increasing the garrison would entail the stripping of the most necessary posts.[1] These reasons were at least specious; but Count de Frontenac was not easily persuaded when the matter proposed was not to his taste. Moreover, Fort Catarocouy was his work, and bore his name. 1689.

In truth, an advanced post on that side was a great convenience, and it displeased the Iroquois only because it hampered them; but I have already remarked that it would have been much more advantageous to place it at la Galette. It would be twenty leagues nearer to Montreal: a road could be opened to revictual it at any time; with cannon the Iroquois could be prevented from passing the river at that point. Still, Fort Catarocouy, without possessing all these advantages, had enough to outweigh the inconvenience experienced in maintaining it, nor should it have been abandoned till a more advantageous one was constructed. Frontenac's reasons for maintaining that post.

On the other hand, several persons to whom the Governor General wished well were greatly interested in its preservation; it was very convenient for their trade, often conducted to the prejudice of the public good; nor had this reason been one of the least influential in inducing de Dénonville and de Champigny to let it fall; but the former, whom the king had appointed Sub-governor of the Princes of France, had resigned all authority to his successor, and in the affair in question confined himself to simple representations, which the Intendant supported as well as he could.

Count de Frontenac paid no regard to them; and as by

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 442.

1689. one clause of Mr. de Dénonville's letter to the Sieur de Valrennes that commandant was authorized to wait till the end of November[1] before evacuating Catarocouy, the new governor hoped to be in time to countermand the order, and send a convoy sufficient to enable him to hold out in the fort.[2] He accordingly fitted out 25 canoes with all celerity, added a detachment[3] which his predecessor had collected to facilitate the retreat of the garrison, and gave them an escort of three hundred men, French and Indians, chiefly Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and of the Mountain, who, seeing themselves no longer safe in their villages, had taken refuge in Montreal.

He makes great preparations to revictual it.

He had another view, also, in sending out this large detachment; he had brought back from France the Iroquois who had been condemned to the galleys, and wished to send some of them to their cantons, there to announce the return of all the others, and notify the cantons to send for them. But, with all the expedition that he could employ, his convoy could not be got ready till the 6th of November;[4] and he had not returned to Montreal two hours, after conducting it in person as far as Lachine, before the Sieur de Valrennes arrived with his garrison, composed of forty-five men, having lost six, drowned while shooting a rapid.[5]

It is evacuated.

He had burned or thrown into the water all the stores and ammunition that could encumber his march, sunk in the harbor three barks which he had left, with their anchors and iron cannon, transported the bronze pieces as far as Lake St. Francis, where he had concealed them; he had mined the bastions, walls of the fort, and towers, and put in several places slow matches, lighted at one end;[6] and as some three or four hours after their departure he

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[1] Canada Doc., II., v., p. 35.

[2] Canada Doc., II., v., p. 44.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 437; Canada Doc., II., v., p. 44.

[4] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 437; Canada Doc., II., v., p. 45.

[5] Canada Doc, II., v., p. 45.

[6] Canada Doc., II., v., p. 45; La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 195.

had heard a great noise, he had no doubt it was entirely blown up. The vexation experienced by the new governor, on seeing his preparations frustrated, may be conceived from the reasons which, as explained, he had for interesting himself in the preservation of Fort Catarocouy, and by the vivacity which he displayed on the subject. His only consolation was the hope of restoring it, as he did soon after.[1] 1689.

The conquest of New York he had also extremely at heart, and the Chevalier de Callieres, who had succeeded in inducing the Marquis de Dénonville to favor it, wrote in these terms to the Marquis de Seignelay: "Mr. de Dénonville will tell you, Monseigneur, how important it is for the king to make himself master of New York, and anticipate the English in their project of ruining this country by means of the Iroquois, with whom he must not hope to make peace by ways of negotiation, so long as we are at war with the former. If we remain on the defensive, the ruin of this colony is inevitable; these Indians will continue their inroads, burn and pillage every thing, without our being able to oppose them, were there even twice as many more troops in the country; but by taking New York, we compel them to ask peace on such conditions as we choose to impose. New plans for the conquest of New York.

"This expedition may take place before or after harvest, and there are two ways of carrying it out. The surest is to attack Manhattan with six ships, carrying an army of 1200 men, while the Canadian troops attack Orange (Albany) by land. The other means is less expensive; it consists in sending to Canada 300 recruits, who, with a

[1] The Iroquois, according to Milet, were told by the Governor of New York, in a conference at Albany, that he abandoned Fort Frontenac to them, and that they could easily take it, as the garrison were dying of hunger. The Iroquois did not arrive, however, till after the evacuation. They found considerable provisions there. Milet, Relation, p. 45. Smith's History of New York, p. 57. By this search for any thing they could find in the ruins, "the Indians," says Smith (p. 138), "acquired a title either by conquest or dereliction."

1689. like number of old soldiers, will be stationed to guard the principal posts in the country, while a force of 1000 royal troops and 3 or 400 colonists are sent to lay siege to Orange (Albany). That town taken, a good garrison will be left there, and our forces will push on to attack Manhattan (New York); but to succeed in this second siege, it is necessary to have two frigates, which can land 300 men to replace those left at Orange and to guard the canoes. These two frigates should be sent in March to Port Royal, and at the same time provision should be made for the safety of that post, exposed to be carried by the English from Boston; and a frigate to Quebec to convey his majesty's orders, the 300 recruits, flour, and other necessary provisions."[1]

What prevented its taking effect.

The minister could not but regard with favor this project of the Governor of Montreal, whom he knew to be one of the Colonial officers who planned most wisely, and was able to carry out any thing confided to him; but while they were busy in Canada seeking means to make conquests from the English, tidings came that the English on their side were taking measures to seize Canada. Perhaps with greater diligence they might have been anticipated, but there was no time left when information came of their design. Once more, therefore, was it necessary to renounce a conquest necessary to the tranquillity of New France in order to meet an enemy who had made the first move, and who had this advantage over us, that he could raise in America sufficient forces to crush us. Fortunately for us, these were not put in good hands.

Iberville's expedition to the north of Canada.

The campaign of 1689 had not, however, been unsuccessful in all parts of New France. While the Iroquois were carrying their ravages to the very heart of the colony, d'Iberville and his brothers were sustaining in the north the honor of the French arms, and our brave Abénaquis

[1] See plan. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 428–430; Smith, History of New York, pp. 64–5. For New York about this time, see Miller's New York, 1695.

avenged us, at the expense of the English, for all the injury that their allies had done us at their instigation. 1689.

In the first days of May, information reached Quebec through two Canadians, who had set out on the 5th of January, in snowshoes, from Fort St. Louis, at the head of Hudson's Bay, that d'Iberville had arrived there in the month of October previous; that la Ferté, his lieutenant, having, 30 leagues from Port Nelson, met the Governor of New Savannah, a place situated on the western shore of the bay,[1] had taken him prisoner, seized his papers, and found among them letters from the directors of the London Company, containing orders to proclaim the Prince and Princess of Orange, king and queen of Great Britain, in the bay, which, this company pretended, belonged wholly to the English crown.[2]

This pretension, so at variance with what had been agreed upon between Louis XIV. and James II., was soon supported by two ships, that appeared in sight of Fort St. Anne,[3] to which d'Iberville had just proceeded. One of these ships had eighteen guns and four pedereros; the other a like number of pedereros and ten cannon: they were both well loaded with arms, ammunition, and supplies, and their crews amounted in all to eighty-three men, among whom there were eleven pilots of twelve whom the English Admiralty maintained for Hudson's Bay. Nor did they flatter themselves with any thing short of the expulsion of the French from all the posts they occupied.

Yet they did not at first dare to attack with open force, although d'Iberville had but few men with him; and even after the first hostilities, which were not to their advantage, they proposed terms that d'Iberville did not think it his duty to reject; but, as he knew the foe with whom he had to deal, he kept on his guard, and it was well he

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[1] On the river Koüachouc. De la Potherie, i., p. 170; or des Saintes Huiles, ib., 164. This author omits all reference to d'Iberville's operations at Hudson's Bay in 1688.

[2] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 53.

[3] Quichychouan. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 53.

1689. did. He was not long in perceiving that the only object of the English was to lull his suspicions, in order to fall upon him as soon as they saw him without any misgiving, and he resolved to forestal them.[1]

To do so more securely, he affected more than ever great security; but he laid several ambuscades for the enemy, into which they fell. He thus deprived them of twenty-one of their best men, including their surgeon and one of their highest officers; and after thus weakening them, he summoned them to surrender as prisoners of war. They replied that they could not do so with honor, being still forty capable of defending themselves, besides the sick.

On this reply, d'Iberville detached fourteen men under de Maricourt, his brother, with orders to harass the English, sometimes on a little island where they were encamped, and sometimes on their ships, which were locked in the ice. Two days after he followed in person, and after cannonading each other for some time, without doing any considerable damage, d'Iberville again summoned the commandant, threatening to show him no quarter, if he deferred his surrender.[2]

His success. The Englishman wrote to him that there was a treaty between the two crowns,[3] and that he was surprised that he showed so little regard to it. D'Iberville replied that he had not been the first to infringe; that withal he insisted on the surrender of the two ships and all their crews. They begged a day's delay, which he granted. On the expiration of the term, he sent his interpreter for the answer, which was handed to the man in writing. It contained, among other things, that he consented to surrender the two ships to the French commandant, with all on board; but that from this he should pay the wages of the officers, amounting to £2,500, and give these same officers

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[1] Canada Documents, II., v., p. 61.

[2] Canada Doc., II., v., pp. 60–5.

[3] The despatch says, "traité entre eux"—"negotiations between them."

a vessel, with all its rigging, to carry them wherever they chose to go. 1689.

This was granted, with, however, some restriction as to the number of the English who should be permitted to follow their officers. All the others remained prisoners, and d'Iberville was especially careful to release none of the pilots. In the month of June,[1] Mr. de Ste. Helene having come to join his two brothers, handed to Mr. d'Iberville an order from the Governor General to bring the larger of his two prizes to Quebec. He obeyed, sailing from St. Anne on the 12th of September with Ste. Helene[2] and the more important of his prisoners, leaving Maricourt, with thirty-six men, to guard the posts at the head of the bay, where, to all appearance, the English would soon endeavor to have their revenge. On his way, he fell in with an English ship, bearing young Chouart, who had not been able to extricate himself from the hands of the English since the surprise of Port Nelson. He longed to attack this vessel, but his force was insufficient, and he had prisoners to guard.[3]

In default of strength, he had recourse to stratagem: he raised the English flag, and the Captain, taking him for a real Englishman, agreed to sail in company, d'Iberville to carry a light during the night, and at the first clear weather they were to visit each other. D'Iberville's design was to seize the Captain and the crew of the boat that brought him, then to board the English ship, where he hoped to find little resistance; but they experienced such severe weather as far as the mouth of Hudson's Strait, that they had to separate, without seeing each other, and d'Iberville reached Quebec safely on the 25th of October.[4]

The check received by the English this same year from the Canibas was even more humiliating than the manner

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[1] He reached St. Anne August 15. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 72.

[2] Ste. Helene set out for Montreal by canoe. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 72.

[3] Canada Doc., II., v., p. 69.

[4] The 28th or 29th, according to Canada Doc., II., v., pp. 69, 73. See N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 443.

1689. in which they had been handled in Hudson's Bay. They had planted themselves in a place named Pemkuit, situated between the Pentagoët river and the Kennebec, and made there a very fine settlement, defended by a fort, which was, indeed, only a stockade, but quite regularly built, with twenty cannon mounted.[1] From this point they were extremely annoying to all the neighboring Indians, who had always openly declared for the French, nor did they cause less disquiet to the Governor of Acadia, who justly dreaded the effect of their intrigues to detach those tribes from our alliance.

Enterprise of the Canibas against Pemquid.

At last a party of one hundred warriors, chiefly Canibas, took the field on the 9th of August, to drive the English from this important point, and rid themselves of such unpleasant neighbors. They were from a village near Pentagoët, where an ecclesiastic named Mr. Thury,[2] a zealous laborer and man of capacity, directed quite a numer-

[1] For Pemaquid, see Hough's Pemaquid Papers, in Maine Historical Collections, vol. v., and J. W. Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, in the same volume, pp. 139-304. The English claim dated back to 1625, when Samoset sold them a tract here. Thornton, in Hist. Mag., i., p. 133. A settlement began soon after, and Sir William Phipps was born here in 1650. This portion of Maine being embraced in the Duke of York's charter, it for a time formed part of New York; but, by royal order of September 19, 1686, was transferred to Massachusetts. The settlement was then styled Jamestown, as the fort was Fort Charles. Hubbard, in 1677, mentions 7 or 8 considerable dwellings. Indian War, ii., p. 72. Andros, after its capture, speaks of 20 houses. Maine Hist. Coll., v., p. 394. In October, 1688, Andros stationed two companies here, of 60 men each, under Col. E. Tyng and Capt. Minot, and 36 regulars, giving command to Captain Brockholst and Lieut. Weems. Williamson's Maine, i., p. 589. Most of these troops were withdrawn, or deserted, leaving a few under Lieut. Weems. Mass. Records, vi., pp. 20, 22. Special instructions were sent to him, July 6, 1689. The Pentagoët ("a rapid," Maurault, Hist. des Abnakis, p. 5) is the Penobscot (Penawobsket—"Ground covered with stones").

[2] Rev. Peter Thury, born at Bayeux; ordained at Quebec, December 21, 1677, member of the Seminary of Quebec. Sent to Acadia in 1684 (St. Valier, Etat Présent, Quebec ed., p. 12); began mission in St. Croix in 1685 (Ib., p. 18); invited to Pentagoët, in 1687, by St. Castin. He died June 3, 1699, at Chebouctou. Diereville, Voyage de l'Acadie, pp. 54, 179; Travels of Learned Missionaries, pp. 280, 309; Taschereau, Memoir sur l'Acadie.

ous mission. The first care of these brave Christians was to assure to themselves the aid of the Lord of Hosts: all confessed, many received communion, and they took care that their wives and children fulfilled the same duty, in order to be able to raise purer hands to heaven while their fathers and husbands were combatting the heretics. All this was done with a piety which assured the missionary of the success of the enterprise. The Perpetual Rosary was established in the Chapel during the whole time of the expedition, the edifying exercise not being interrupted even at the hours for meals. 1689.

The warriors proceeded along the coast by sea, and, on embarking, sent three canoes ahead to reconnoitre, with orders to join the army two leagues from Pemkuit, where they were to land. On all arriving there, they marched by land with so much precaution that they reached the first English houses unperceived. On the road they took three prisoners,[1] from whom they learned that there were about a hundred men in the fort and village. On this intelligence, they resolved to begin by attacking the settlement. After prayer, they stripped for the fight, and rushed furiously on the houses, broke down the doors, and slaughtered all who attempted resistance, binding those who laid down their arms.

At the first tidings of this sudden and unforeseen attack, the commandant of the fort[2] opened fire with all his cannon; but this did not prevent the Canibas from getting possession of ten or twelve well-built stone houses[3] forming a street from the village square to the fort. They then entrenched themselves, partly at the cellar-door of the house next the fort, and partly behind a rock on the sea-

[1] One of these was a man named Starky. Williamson's Maine, i., 612; Mather's Magn., book vii., p. 65.

[2] Captain Weems, who had been stationed there by Andros. He had 14 men, says Hutchinson, Hist. of Mass., i., p. 352. Williamson's Maine, i., p. 612. A Captain James Weems appears frequently in New York documents down to 1721, when we find him Colonel and Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

[3] See Hubbard's Indian Wars, ii., p. 72.

1689. shore, and from these two points kept up such a terrible musketry fire on the fort, from noon till evening of the 14th, that no one durst appear openly.

The Indians besiege Fort Pemkuit.

When night came, they summoned the commandant to surrender the place; and an Englishman having answered in derision that he was tired and was going to sleep, the fire began, as if by concert, on both sides; but the Indians, under cover of the darkness, approached the fort, and invested it, keeping close watch all night to prevent any one leaving it. The next day, at early dawn, the firing was renewed on both sides, and was at first quite hot; but, after some volleys, the English stopped their fire, and asked to capitulate. The Indians at once approached, and swore that they would do violence to no one, provided the garrison evacuated the fort immediately.

They take it.

The commandant appeared the next moment at the head of fourteen men, all that he had left, and of some women, each one carrying a bundle on the back. The Canibas let them pass, without touching any thing, merely telling them that if they were wise they would never come back again; that the Abénaqui nations had too often experienced their perfidy ever to leave them in quiet, if they showed themselves in their country again; that they were lords of their own territory, and would never permit there such restless and grasping people as they were, who annoyed them, moreover, in the practice of their religion.[1]

They then entered the fort,[2] committing no disorder

[1] Hutchinson (Hist. of Mass., i., p. 352), followed by Williamson (Hist. of Maine, i., p. 613), says the Indians killed some after the surrender and made prisoners of others. La Motte Cadillac, in his Memoir (Canada Doc., II., v.; Maine Hist. Coll., vi., p. 283), says they killed in all 80, but spared the commandant and six of his people at the instance of Matekwando. But John Gyles, the best English account, says that Weems went off in Pateshall's sloop, and says nothing of any violation of the terms. Drake's Indian Captivities, p. 77; Mather's Magnalia, book vii., p. 65. Andros, in his defence, ascribed its loss to removal of troops; but the Answer to Sir Edmund Andros's Account (Maine Hist. Coll., v., p. 394) attributes it to the careless security of the garrison.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 438. Thury's Account, Boston, French Doc., vii., p. 297.

there any more than in the houses, where, finding a barrel of rum, they stove it in, without drinking a single drop, an heroic act for Indians. When they had examined the whole place, they took whatever suited them, and leveled the fort and houses. Some wished to go on and expel the English from an island[1] three or four leagues from Pemkuit, but the majority did not approve the project. The whole party returned to Pentagoët on two sloops taken from the enemy, after killing the crew.[2] 1689.

The garrison of Pemkuit pretended to have lost only seven men in that fort; but quite a deep trench was found, filled up with bodies; and the commandant told the Indians, on leaving the fort, that they had good powder, and their guns were true. He had experience, his face being half burnt.[3] The Canibas had only one man slightly wounded in the leg; and, on their return, they assured Mr. Thury that if they had two hundred Frenchmen, a little accustomed to the country and willing to follow them, they would lead them to Boston.

Another Indian expedition.

This expedition was speedily followed by a more vigorous one, attended with still greater loss to the English. The latter had in the neighborhood of the Kennebec fourteen small forts, quite well defended.[4] The Indians of Pentagoët and St. John's River, uniting, surprised them all, killing as many as two hundred persons, and carrying off a very large booty. The chief advantage derived by us from these incursions was the irreconcileable breach which they effected between the English and the tribes, of all others on the continent, who enjoyed the highest re-

[1] Monhegan (Hubbard's Indian Wars, ii., p. 72; N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 551), says 6 leagues.

[2] These boats belonged to Captains Skynner, Farnham, and Patishal. Mather's Magn., bk. vii., p. 65; Williamson's Maine, i., p. 613.

[3] Mather's Magn., book vii., p. 65; Gyles, in Drake's Indian Captivities, p. 76.

[4] Observations on the State of Affairs (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 433, 438; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 223) says 16. Dover, N. H., was the first attacked, June 27, 1689, O. S., the incentive being to avenge the treacherous capture and sale of many of the tribe by Waldron in 1676. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., p. 351; Belknap's New Hampshire, i., p. 198.

1689. nown for bravery, and whose sincere attachment to the Christian religion and natural docility retained them more easily in our alliance.

Several Abnakis think of removing within the colony.

Many of the Abénaquis, even then, thought of removing to the heart of the French colony; all were not yet Christians, but those who had not received baptism were preparing for that sacrament.[1] Dénonville, in a memoir, which Seignelay solicited from him after his return to France, on the position of affairs in Canada and the best means of remedying the disorders of that colony, says that the good understanding which he had maintained with the Abénaqui nations, by means of missionaries, and especially of the two Fathers Bigot, had produced the whole success of his enterprises against the English, and that there was no wiser course than to attract a great number of these Indians to St. Francis.

Dénonville's Memoir.

He adds that the English and French are incompatible in that part of the continent of America; that the former regard our missionaries as their most dangerous enemies, and did not rest till they had driven them out of all the Iroquois cantons; that, even religion apart, it was very important to resort to every means to restore them there, and to have some among all the other Indians, over whom they have acquired a very great ascendency; that the Iroquois have, in reality, more esteem and inclination for our nation than for the English; but that commercial interest, or rather the credit which trade gives them, would always keep them in the English alliance; that harmony between the clergy, the Governor General, and Intendant, was the only means of maintaining the order and tranquillity of the country; that it was to be desired that ecclesiastics

[1] A mission was founded at Sillery for Algonquins. Ante, vol. ii., p. 98. When this was almost destroyed by small pox, in 1670, Abénaquis were received in such numbers as to make it an Abénaqui mission; but, as the land was exhausted, Father Bigot, in 1684–5, removed it to the Chaudiere river, and established the mission of St. Francis de Sales. Bigot, Relation de la Mission Abénaquise, 1684, p. 24; ib., 1685, p. 17. This was again removed, in 1700, to the present St. Francis. Ib., 1701.

and religious everywhere were as worthy men, and as edifying, as they were in Canada, but that they were too poorly off, and without means of support; that the distant posts, and especially Catarocouy, were out of reach of timely succor, and that he had always deemed it an error to have established them; that those sent to garrison them were often forced to enter into the interested views of the Indians, constantly involving us in trouble with the Iroquois, and not unfrequently drawing on us the contempt of our allies, who, unable to be relieved in season, did us out of resentment more harm than our very enemies; that it would have been far better not to have interfered in the quarrels of these tribes, and to let them come among us to supply their wants, and not anticipate them, as we continued to do, by carrying our goods to them, at the risk of being plundered on the way, without speaking of the fearful debauchery into which the young men plunge in these journeys; that the English of Boston and New York had promised the Iroquois and their allies the total destruction of the French colony; that Acadia, especially, was constantly on the point of falling into their hands, there not being in that province a single fort capable of resistance, and the houses being more scattered even than on the St. Lawrence; that it would be necessary to fortify Port la Héve, in order to keep ships there in security; that this post was infinitely more advantageous than Port Royal, from which it is not easy to sally forth to defend the coast, and which is too remote from the Islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland and the Great Bank; that all the coast belonging to France abounded in fish, and that the fishery was far better adapted to settle and enrich the country than beaver and brandy, which till then had almost exclusively engaged the settlers; that the only mode of terminating the war in Canada was to seize Manhattan, and that it could be done with six frigates and 1200 troops to land; that 800 regulars and the provincial militia would easily make themselves masters of Orange,

1689.

1689. and that no one was more adapted to crown this enterprise with success than the Chevalier de Callieres; but that, after the capture of the capital, it must be burned, and the country ravaged as far as Orange; that by means of this post, which it would be easy to maintain, all intercourse between the Iroquois and English would be broken off, and the former forced to have recourse to us; and we would prevent our allies forming connections with them prejudicial to our safety; in fine, that Fort Orange would enable us to keep in respect the whole New England shore, which was very populous and undefended.[1]

All contained in this memoir was well weighed, and, with few exceptions, in regard to which there was some difference of opinion in the colony, it would have been much to the advantage of New France had more attention been paid to it. But the whole attention of the court was given to more interesting, because nearer, objects. The king and his ministry, without denying the utility of conquering New York, believed all the forces of the kingdom needed elsewhere; and the celerity required by such an expedition was not as easy as they imagined in Canada. Accordingly, the proper season for dispatching ships and troops was again allowed to pass.

The king wishes them to hold themselves on the defensive.

Mr. de Seignelay accordingly informed the Count de Frontenac and Mr. de Champigny that the great exertions which his Majesty was obliged to make, in order to cope with all the European powers united against France, would not permit him to send to America the new reinforcements which they solicited, or think of any enterprise in that quarter; that a vigorous defensive seemed to him at the juncture most consonant to his service and the security of the colony of Canada; that it was especially necessary to collect the settlers into towns easily guarded and defended against the Indians; in fine, that the Count de Frontenac might usefully employ the influence he had ac-

[1] Dénonville to Seignelay. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 440–7; also, 433, 438.

quired over the minds of the Iroquois, and the occasion of the restoration of their countrymen whom he had taken back from France, to make a solid and honorable peace with them.[1] 1689.

This letter shows, that while they could not understand in Canada how the Court should at all hesitate to make a slight effort to expel the English from New York, the king's council were always astonished at the refusal of the settlers in New France to change the location of their dwellings and adopt in their arrangement a system which was, in their eyes, the easiest thing in the world, and absolutely essential to their preservation. The colonists could see nothing more important to the State than to deliver their colony from the vexatious neighborhood of the English; the Council, judging Canada by the provinces of France, could not be convinced that there was any real obstacle to the changes which they proposed: thus, what interests us most nearly seems in our eyes the only thing necessary, and what we see done before our eyes seems to us practicable everywhere.

Still, it is a fact, that what was required of the Canadian settlers was far less easy to execute than it seemed to the ministry which required it; that the project of acting on the defensive, to which the King's Council wished to confine them, was not more so; and that it cost more to repel the efforts of the English and the Iroquois than it would have cost, once for all, to deprive the former of the power to trouble us, and compelled the latter to remain peacefully in their cantons. This the sequel of our history will show convincingly.

The Count de Frontenac had also returned to America convinced that, next to the conquest of New York, the most advantageous thing to be done for the French colony, whose government he resumed, was to regain the Iroquois; full of confidence in his success, he based his hope chiefly

[1] Louis XIV. to Frontenac and Champigny, July 14, 1690. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 452–5; Instructions, June 7, 1689, ib., p. 427.

1689. on the fact that during his first stay in that country the Iroquois nation had manifested great esteem and attachment to his person, and he did not doubt but that, on showing himself to them, with a great number of their chiefs whose fetters he had broken, they would at once resume their previous sentiments toward him.

Frontenac labors to gain over the Iroquois.

He was at least well assured of having gained over to his interest a brave Cayuga chief named Oureouharé, the most influential of all those whom he had brought back from France, and to whom he had shown great friendship on the voyage. He took this chief with him to Montreal,[1] and, finding there an Iroquois ambassador named Gagniegaton,[2] who had come to make very insolent propositions to Dénonville, Oureouharé advised Frontenac to send back with him four of his comrades in captivity, to notify the cantons of the return of all their chiefs.[3]

The Count followed this advice; Oureouharé recommended these deputies to omit nothing to induce the cantons to send an embassy to their old Father, showing them that they could not dispense with congratulating him on his happy return and thanking him for the goodness he had shown their brethren. He also directed them to assure the Nation that they would find in the General now what they had found in him in the past, great esteem and affection. He also charged them in particular to declare to his canton, that he would not return among them until they came to ask him from Ononthio, from whom he was resolved not to depart without his permission.

The deputies set out with Gagniegaton, and fulfilled
1690. their commission perfectly. On their arrival, the cantons assembled, and sent their reply by the same ambassador, who arrived at Montreal on the 9th of March, 1690.[4] He

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 464.

[2] Gagniegaton had been one of the deputies at Montreal, June 2, 1688.

[3] Narrative of the Most Remarkable Occurrences, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 464.

[4] Narrative of Occurrences, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 464–5; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 63.

found there neither the Count de Frontenac nor Oureouharé, who had returned to Quebec, and several days passed without the Chevalier de Callieres being able to elicit any thing from him or his companions. They were at last, however, won over by the courteous manner of that governor, and presented to him six belts. The first showed the cause of their delay, produced, they said, by the arrival of the Ottawas in the Seneca canton. It was the commencement of a negotiation set on foot between our western allies and the Iroquois, on an occasion to be presently explained. It was agreed to meet in the month of June, at a place determined; and Gagniegaton, explaining this belt, added that things should be done in this way, when they wished to treat of peace, without resorting to strangers. He meant to intimate that the Governor General should have proceeded in person to Onondaga, or to some other place agreed upon, there to speak of arrangements, as he had long previously been requested to do. 1690. Reply of the cantons to his propositions.

The second belt expressed the joy felt by the Flemings, that is to say, the Dutch, settled at Orange, and the Iroquois, on the return of Oureouharé, whom he styled Head Chief of the Iroquois nation. This showed the concert and harmony existing between the cantons and New York.

By the third the Onondaga canton, in the name of all the others, demanded the prompt restoration of all the Iroquois who had returned from France, in order to concert with them measures suited to the situation of affairs. The ambassador added that they had collected at Onondaga all the French prisoners, who had been scattered in the other cantons, and that they should be disposed of only on the report and by the advice of Oureouharé.

The fourth and fifth spoke of the ravages committed in the Seneca canton by de Dénonville, of the treachery at Catarocouy, the abandonment of that post, and said that when all the evil had been made good, and the roads free and secure, Teganissorens would go to treat with Ononthio of peace.

1690. By the sixth, Gagniegaton gave notice that, from the month of October previous, an Iroquois party had been in the field, but that it was to begin operations only at the thawing of the snow, and that if they made any prisoners care should be taken to treat them well. "Do the same with us," he continued, "if you take any of ours. I had eight prisoners in the defeat at La Chine;[1] four I ate, the rest I spared. You have been more cruel than I, for you shot twelve Senecas; you should have spared at least one or two. It was in retaliation for that execution that I ate four of yours."[2]

Mr. de Frontenac refuses to give audience to their deputies.

Mr. de Callieres asked him whether Father Milet was still alive. He replied that he was in perfect health, and had started a week before to return to the colony: a statement found to be untrue.[3] The Governor asked him further why the Mohawks had come to commit hostilities against us. The reply was that the Mohegans, having raised a war party of ninety-six men, had induced some Mohawks and Oneidas to join them; that messengers were sent to recal the Mohawks, but that apparently this step was taken too late.[4]

Mr. de Callieres, unable to extract any thing more from these deputies, sent them to the Governor General; but the Count de Frontenac refused to give them audience, on the ground that they had at their head a man whose insolence had offended him. He nevertheless received his companions well, but treated with them only through the

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[1] At La Chenaye, according to De la Potherie, iii., p. 66. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 466.

[2] See these belts explained at length, De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 63–6; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 465–6.

[3] Milet was taken by a detachment of 300, whose object was the capture of Frontenac. This party then went two leagues down, to wait for the 1400 proceeding to Montreal; after uniting, they went on to Otonniata. Here two chiefs and 30 men were detached with Milet to Oneida, which he reached on St. Lawrence's day, and the main body proceeded to La Chine. Milet, Relation de sa Captivité, pp. 1–24.

[4] Narrative of Occurrences, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 466; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., 67.

instrumentality of Oureouharé, who even seemed to be acting always in his own name. As soon as the rivers were navigable, the General told them that they might return, and Oureouharé handed them eight belts, which he explained to them in a way to give them to understand that the Count de Frontenac took no part in the act.[1] 1690.

Oureouharé's reply.

They expressed in substance that he begged the cantons to wipe away their tears and forget the past; that he learned with pleasure of the promise made by the Ottawas to restore to the Senecas all the prisoners whom they had taken from them; that he was still more charmed at the resolution adopted by his brethren to save the lives of the French who might fall into their hands, and that Ononthio had promised him to do the same on his side until he received the reply of the five cantons to the propositions which he had made them; that so far as he himself personally was concerned, he thanked them for the desire they had at first expressed to see him once more, but that they seemed to have soon lost this zeal and affection, inasmuch as they had not yet sent a chief for him as he had requested them; that he conjured them to do him this honor as soon as possible, and he was induced to make this request by his desire to have them witness the good will of their Father Ononthio for the whole nation, as well as the good treatment which he and his nephews received daily. Finally, that it was by his request that their Father sent with the deputies one of his highest officers, to exhort them not to listen to the Dutch, who had turned their heads; not to interfere in any matters between him and those of Orange (Albany) and Manhatte (New York), and not to take any umbrage at any thing that he might do to chastise their neighbors for throwing off the yoke of their lawful king, whose interests the king of France had espoused; that he wished them to know that he, Oureouharé, regarded all the French as his

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 70. He explains Auriouaé's belts (pp. 70–73). N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 469.

1690. brethren; that he no longer wished to part with his father Ononthio; that he would not return to his canton, though fully at liberty to do so, unless they came for him in the manner he had stated; that they might go in all security to Montreal, and that he felt perfectly sure that the French would not disavow his pledge that their confidence should not be abused.[1]

What induced the Count de Frontenac to assume so lofty a tone.

The officer who accompanied the Iroquois deputies was the Chevalier d'Eau, a reduced captain.[2] The Count de Frontenac had deemed it expedient to send him to Onondaga, to show special confidence in that canton, which he always conciliated more than the rest, as well as to be better informed of what was going on. He knew, moreover, that he could rely on Garakonthié[3] and Teganissorens, avowed friends of the French: but the capture of Corlar (Schenectady), the tidings of which had just reached him, and the return of those who had made that conquest, of which we shall speak in due season, especially induced him to assume so lofty a tone with the Iroquois, and he certainly acted on this occasion with these Indians with a dexterity and dignity which made them descend considerably from their haughty position.

He was, nevertheless, much troubled by the negotiations of the Ottawas with the Iroquois, of which Gagniegaton had spoken to the Chevalier de Callieres. Its object was

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[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 70–74. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 469.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 469. La Hontan (Voyages, i., p. 205) pretends that Mr. de Frontenac wished him to go, but that, on his showing its impossibility of effecting any good and asking him to select another, Frontenac appointed the Chevalier Do, who was accompanied by Colin, an interpreter, and two young Canadians. As usual, however, there is no mention elsewhere of La Hontan. The envoy, whose name Charlevoix gives d'Eau, and La Hontan Do, wrote his name d'Aux. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 198. For his instructions and the message of Oureouaé, see N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 733.

[3] Brother of Daniel Garakonthié (Milet, Relation, p. 39), and apparently the one whom Hennepin professes to have known. Voyages au Nord, v., p. 342; Mœurs des Sauvages, p. 56.

this. We have more than once seen the secret inclination of our allies on the north and west to open trade with the English through the medium of the cantons; an inclination founded on nothing, however, but interest, the English furnishing goods at much lower prices than we did. Dénonville, by involving them in the war with the Senecas, had designed chiefly to break off this connection, and render all these nations irreconcileable with the Iroquois, but it was soon perceived that he had not succeeded. 1690. The Ottawas treat with the Iroquois without the intervention of the French.

The lack of vigor displayed by us on that expedition; the little fruit derived by us from the slight advantage we gained in it; the destruction and evacuation of Fort Niagara, the erection of which they had earnestly solicited; the frequent irruptions of the Iroquois into the colony; and, more than all this, the dishonorable steps taken to secure peace from that nation; the insolence long endured at their hands; and our inaction, notwithstanding their recent hostilities, made the Ottawas resume their former project of effecting a reconciliation with a people from whom they had indeed little to hope but much to fear. What induced them.

In truth, the wisdom and firmness of the Sieur de la Durantaye,[1] who continued in command at Michillimakinac, and the zeal with which he was supported by the missionaries, had long prevented this resolution taking effect; but they were in constant fear that these Indians would escape us. Our ill-luck would have it that many of them happened to be in Montreal at the time of the sack of La Chine, occurring almost before the very eyes of the Governor General, and while, against their remonstrance, he allowed himself to be lulled by false appearances of peace; for they carried back to their villages a settled

[1] Olivier Morel de la Durantaye was a Breton gentleman, born at Notre Dame du Gaure, Nantes. He came out as a captain in the Carignan regiment, but his many services never brought promotion. He married in 1670, and in his later days, after resigning his commission, became one of the Council at Quebec. Ferland, ii., p. 208, note; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 112, &c. Bouchette Topog. Description, xxii, xxiv.

1690. conviction that we were on the point of sinking utterly beneath the efforts of our enemies, as well as a secret joy to see themselves left by our weakness free to think of their own interest. To this must be added the unfavorable impression left on many minds after the treachery which the Rat, who was the projector, had laid to the charge of the Marquis de Dénonville.

The Ottawas even thought themselves authorized to reveal their design to no Frenchman, supposing that no one should take amiss their adopting measures to avoid being left exposed alone to the fury of the Iroquois, nor did they deliberate long on the conduct to be pursued by them in so delicate a conjuncture. They began by sending back to the Senecas all the prisoners taken from them, then fixed upon a place of meeting for the month of June ensuing. This was the negotiation which gave Mr. de Frontenac such great and well-founded anxiety, and of which Gagniegaton had made such a mystery to the Governor of Montreal.

Exertions of Mr. de la Durantaye and the missionaries as to this matter.

Fortunately, Mr. de la Durantaye and the missionaries, ever attentive to the slightest move of these Indians, were informed of the scheme, and the matter seemed sufficiently important for them to inform the Governor General of all that they had discovered. Yet this was not easy, as they were already well into the winter; but the Commandant was so fortunate as to find a man willing to undertake a journey of four hundred leagues, notwithstanding the rigor of the season and the difficulty of the roads. This was the Sieur Joliet, who arrived at Quebec toward the end of December, 1689.[1] He handed to the Count de Frontenac a letter from Father de Carheil, drawn up, doubtless, by that missionary in concert with Mr. de la Durantaye,

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 60. The Joliet here mentioned is Zachary, a younger brother of Louis, the discoverer of the Mississippi. Zachary, after studying under the Jesuits, was apprenticed to a cooper, and then embarked in trade. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 196. Relation, 1689–90. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 463.

whose friend he was, and the following is the portion bearing principally on Joliet's mission: 1690.

Father de Carheil's letter to Frontenac.

"Here we are, reduced at last to the condition to which I have always thought the hope of peace would bring us. I have never deemed it possible, thinking on this matter, nor do those who know the Onondagas, the most crafty of all the Iroquois. Notwithstanding the difficulty experienced in keeping up the minds of the Indians till the time fixed for the Assembly, when they had lost all hopes from the negotiations for a peace for which they knew the French were begging, and which they could regard only as a proof of our weakness, we had happily succeeded in retaining them in the path of duty till that term; but, when they went down to Montreal to the Assembly, they were eye-witnesses of the triumph of the Iroquois: they saw that the magnificent promises with which they had been amused resulted in the desolation of our hamlets and the general consternation of the colony. They concluded that they had no other alternative than to make terms with an enemy against whom we were no longer in a position to defend them, and from whose hands they passionately desired to rescue their brethren.

"We had the happiness of preventing them from carrying out this resolution, and they even yielded to our persuasion to continue the war with us; but instead of carrying on the war, they resumed negotiations, during which the Iroquois gained great advantages over them and over us. At last, our recent disasters made them conclude unanimously to send ambassadors, first to the Senecas, then to the other cantons, with authority to form a perpetual alliance with the Iroquois nation. The Huron is as deep, or deeper, in this plot than the Ottawa; but, more wily, he still manœuvres, and has not yet spoken as openly or boldly. When solicited by his ally to join him, he has confined himself to saying that he was too young[1] to inter-

[1] That is to say, too feeble in numbers. *Charlevoix.*

1690. fere in an affair of that nature, or to oppose it; he let his brothers, who had more judgment than he, act, and they could answer for the consequences. A remnant of doubt as to the result keeps them in this reserve.

"As to the Ottawas, what induced their urgency in sending off their ambassadors was fear lest an order might arrive from you to perform some act of hostility against the Iroquois. This must no longer be thought of; it is too late. It should have been done while they were still at Montreal after the desolation of La Chine; they even desired it; but now that their ambassadors have gone, you must no longer count on them in the war. They loaded the Iroquois prisoners with honors as they sent them back, and we opposed the step, reminding them of the displeasure it would give their Father Onontbio; they answered that they had hitherto placed too much reliance on his protection.

"We had pictured the French to ourselves, they added,[1] as warriors; but experience has taught us that they are less so than the Iroquois. We are no longer astonished at their letting so long a time pass without undertaking any thing; a sense of their own weakness withheld them. After beholding the cowardice with which they allowed themselves to be massacred on the island of Montreal, it is evident to us that we must no longer expect any aid from them, their protection having become not only useless, but even prejudicial, by the complications into which it has most unseasonably involved us. Their weakness and lack of courage were shown in a very evident manner at Tsonnonthouan, where, surprised at the resistance of the enemy, they confined themselves to making war on the grain and bark,[2] and since that time they have not dared to do

[1] I here make the Ottawas speak directly, to avoid a little confusion to be found in this part of Father de Carheil's letter; but, with this exception, I have changed scarcely any thing in that missionary's expressions. *Charlevoix.* He has, however, made alterations that would not be deemed proper now. Compare text with Canada Doc. II., v., 92, &c.

[2] By breaking the bark canoes of the Senecas. *Charlevoix.*

any thing, except beg peace by all sorts of baseness; they have not even courage to defend themselves when attacked, and, in spite of every experience sufficient to open their eyes, they obstinately cling to hopes of settlement, preferring to suffer the insolence of a haughty enemy rather than return to the battle. Nor has their alliance been less injurious to us in commerce than in war; it has deprived us of trade with the English, far more advantageous to us than traffic with them, and this contrary to all laws of protection, which consist in maintaining freedom of trade; moreover, they throw all the burden of the war on us, while our pretended protectors, with a conduct full of duplicity, seek to shelter themselves by a shameful treaty. In one word, whoever becomes aware of our present state, will take us rather for protectors of the French than for a people protected by them."[1] 1690.

There is no doubt that Ottawas used such language only at the instigation of the Hurons, and that it was prompted by the Rat, whom we have seen so active in defeating all de Dénonville's steps for effecting peace with the Iroquois. Information came soon, even, that these very Hurons, who wished to appear in nothing, were the soul of all this intrigue, in which they used the Ottawas, whose natural dulness prevented their modifying any thing or measuring their terms.

Its effect on Frontenac.

Be that as it may, Father de Carheil's letter did not displease the Count de Frontenac. It was not difficult to persuade that general that the evil was great, and he seized with eager readiness any opportunity of blaming what had been done before him. Moreover, he thought he saw in all the untoward accidents the consequences of abandoning Fort Catarocouy. Yet it is true to say that a part of the reproaches of the Ottawas fell somewhat on him, and that his predecessor had thought as well as he, and before him, that to remedy all this evil, to humble the

[1] De Carheil to Frontenac, Sept. 17, 1690, Can. Doc., II., v., pp. 92–104.

1690. Iroquois, and bring all the other tribes on this continent to reason, there was no surer means than to expel the English from New York. Yet, it must be avowed, that in place of that expedition, which they did not enable him to carry out, de Frontenac harassed the English so vigorously on all sides that he disabused the Indians of the idea into which they had fallen, that we durst not take the field before our enemies.

But, before relating the manner in which he succeeded in this, it is best to resume the sequel of the adventures of Mr. de la Sale, news of which was at last received toward the close of the year 1688, at a time when they almost despaired of ever hearing of him, and men in France and in Canada seemed to have renounced entirely the colonization of Louysiana, as Mr. de la Sale called the country watered by the Micissipi, below the Illinois river, a name which it still retains.

BOOK XIII.

BOOK XIII.

THERE is no virtue that is not marred by some defect. This is the ordinary lot of humanity. What crowns our humiliation is that the greatest faults often attend the most eminent qualities, and that the jealousy the latter inspire almost always finds a specious pretext in the former to cover the baseness and injustice of that passion. It is for those set to govern men, to give light, so to issue from this labyrinth, to separate truth from the darkness with which passion would dim it, and so well to know those whom it employs, as to take due precaution against their bad qualities, while permitting them to employ those which are good. 1684-90.

This was the chief care of de Seignelay in regard to de la Sale, when it was proposed to accept his services. Though prejudiced against him by de la Barre's correspondence, he resolved to see him personally; and, after several interviews, he concluded that, even admitting the truth of part of the charges against him, de la Sale possessed talents which might make him useful to the State, and he gave him high marks of esteem. Encouraged by this favorable reception, de la Sale proposed to the minister the design which he had formed of reconnoitring by sea the mouth of the Micissipi, in order to open the way for French vessels, and found a settlement there. His project was approved, and he received orders to make his preparations.

La Salle's project presented to Mr. de Seignelay and approved.

In this he spent the whole winter; and, when the preparations were completed, de Seignelay handed him his

1684. Commission given him.

commission. It provided that all the French and Indians who might be between Fort Saint Louis of the Illinois and New Biscay should be subject to his orders, and that the commandant of the squadron that was to convey him from France to America should carry out all his directions as to their course, and on his landing give him all the assistance he might require, provided it could in no wise imperil the safety of the king's ships.[1]

His outfit and companions.

Four vessels[2] of different sizes were fitted out at Rochefort, and two hundred and eighty persons, including the crews, embarked. The rest was made up of one hundred soldiers; a Canadian family, the head of which was named Talon; about thirty volunteers, among whom there were some gentlemen; some young women; and a certain number of mechanics and laborers;[3] but it must be admitted that the selection of all these was far from careful. The soldiers were, for the most part, wretches who were begging a living; some were deformed, and could not even fire a musket. The mechanics were no better; and when it became necessary to employ them, it was found, though too late, that there was scarcely one who knew his trade.

Among the volunteers were two nephews of Mr. de la Sale, Cavelier and Moranget, the former only fourteen years of age,[4] and three clergymen of St. Sulpice; Cavelier, brother of de la Sale, Chefdeville, a relative, and Majulle,[5] called in some accounts Daimanville.[6] Four Recollect Fathers, Zenobius Mambré, who had already accompanied de la Sale in his discoveries, Father Maximus Le Clercq,

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[1] The Commission, April 14, 1684 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 225), makes no allusion to the voyage. These directions are in the Lettre de Cachet, Versailles, April 12, 1684.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 12, 13; Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, p. 5; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 277.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 12, 13.

[4] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., 276, 278. He is apparently the John Baptist Cavelier, who, with Mary Magdalene Cavelier, wife of John Le Forestier, claimed to be La Salle's heirs. Memoire au Roy, 1717 or 1720, MS.

[5] Anastasius Douay, in Le Clercq (ii., 272–3), Hennepin, Voyage (V. au Nord, v., p. 202).

[6] Dainmaville, Joutel, p. 13.

who had spent some time in Canada,[1] Father Anastasius Douay,[2] and Father Dennis Marquet,[3] were intended, some to remain in the settlement it was proposed to found at the mouth of the Miċissipi, others to establish missions among the Indians; but Father Marquet falling sick the very first day of the voyage, they were obliged to send him ashore, and he did not accompany them. To conclude, Joutel, a burgher of Rouen, who had long been a soldier, an upright man, whose account is the only one we have of this expedition which can be relied on,[4] also joined de la Sale, who, recognizing in him great ability and a clear head, made him his Intendant, as it were, and never had reason to regret it. 1684.

The four vessels that were to carry this little colony were the Joli, a frigate of about forty guns, commanded by Mr. de Beaujeu,[5] with the Chevalier d'Here[6] as lieuten- Departure from Rochelle.

[1] He had been five years on the mission, chiefly at the Seven Islands and Anticosti. Le Clercq, ii., 274–5. He was from Lille, in Flanders. Hennepin, Voyages, p. 202.

[2] Father Anastasius Douay was a native of Quesnoy, in Hainault. After his connection with this expedition, from 1684 to 1688, he was Vicar of the Recollects at Cambray in 1697, and returned to Louisiana with Iberville in 1699. Voyage of Iberville, MS.

[3] Le Clercq gives the name "Denis Morguet" (ib., p. 275); Hennepin, Morquet (Voyages au Nord, v., 202).

[4] See ante, vol. i., pp. 87–8, for a notice of Joutel. The other accounts are those of Father Anastasius Douay, the Recollect; Le Clercq, vol. ii., pp. 269–377; in English in Shea, Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, pp. 184–229; Cavelier, Relation du Voyage entrepris par feu M. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, Manate, 1858; in English in Shea, Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, Albany, 1861, pp. 15–42; Hennepin's account is a made-up affair, of no authority; that of Anastasius Douay seems entitled to credit; that of Cavelier is enfeebled by his acknowledged concealment, if not misrepresentation, and his statements generally are attacked by Joutel (p. 5). Tonti, in his Memoir, gives the account as he heard it.

[5] This Norman officer is said to be the Count de Beaujeu, who, at the battle of La Hogue, commanded the St. Louis, the flagship of the Admiral, Marshal Count de Tourville. Hennepin, who professes to have known him, extols his valor, experience, and services. Voy. au Nord, v., p. 204. He seems to have been grand-uncle to Daniel Lienard de Beaujeu, commander of the French troops that defeated Braddock. Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 178, n.; Relations Diverses sur la Bataille du Malanguelé, p. x. See Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire.

[6] Le Clercq (ii., 277), followed by

1684. ant, and the Sieur du Hamel[1] as ensign. Another frigate of six guns, the Belle,[2] had been given by the king to de la Sale, who confided the command to two bark captains.[3] The Aimable, a 300-ton store-ship belonging to Massiot, a Rochelle merchant, and commanded by the Sieur Aigron, carried all de la Sale's merchandise; while a ketch of 30 tons was loaded with ammunition and goods intended for St. Domingo.[4]

This little squadron left Rochelle, July 24, 1684,[5] in company with the West India and Canada fleet, which was to be subject to Mr. de Beaujeu's orders till they sighted the Spanish coast;[6] but they had not got more than fifty leagues from port, when, in the finest weather imaginable, the Joli's bowsprit suddenly snapped.[7] There was no little argument about this accident, and as there were already some seeds of disagreement between de Beaujeu and de la Sale, some imagined the thing concerted. The question was, whether to go to Portugal or to put back to la Rochelle, and the last opinion prevailed. The three other vessels followed the Joli, and the squadron was not able to sail before the 1st of August.[8]

They sail again.

On the 16th they were in sight of Madeira, and de Beaujeu proposed to de la Sale to anchor there, in order to take in water and provisions. Mr. de la Sale replied that they had only been out a fortnight, and consequently should need neither water nor provisions; that they could not put

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Hennepin (p. 204), says Chevalier d'Aire, now king's captain, and son of the Dean of the Parliament of Metz.

[1] Of Brouage. Le Clercq, ii., 277.

[2] Le Clercq, ii., 277.

[3] Joutel (Journal Historique, p. 14), maîtres de barque.

[4] Joutel (Journal Historique, p. 14) says the ketch was chartered for St. Domingo, but had on board 30 tons of munitions and stores for La Salle. Le Clercq (Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 277) gives this ketch the name of St. François.

[5] Joutel, p. 14; Hennepin, p. 205.

[6] To Cape Finisterre. Joutel, p. 14.

[7] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 14; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 279; Cavelier, Relation, p. 6.

[8] Joutel, Journal Historique, 15–16. Hennepin (p. 205) says, August 5. They put back to Chef-de-bois. Le Clercq, ii., p. 279. Cavelier, in his memoir, gives the 12th as the day of sailing.

in at Madeira without losing a week uselessly; that their enterprise required all secrecy, especially as regarded the Spaniards, who could not fail to take umbrage if they became aware of it, but from whom it could not be concealed if they showed themselves at an island so near the Canaries, which belonged to the Spanish monarch; in a word, that it was not his Majesty's intention, as no one could be better aware than himself.[1] 1684.

This reply greatly displeased de Beaujeu, and set the crew against Mr. de la Sale. A Huguenot passenger named Paget,[2] at this time spoke quite violently to Mr. de la Sale, who asked the commandant whether it was by his orders that a man of that stamp thus lost all respect for him. Mr. de Beaujeu coldly replied "No," and took no steps to have any apology made for the insult. La Sale smothered his resentment; yet there was not a soul aboard but began to augur ill of an expedition in which the commanders seemed to have such opposite views and interests.[3] Quarrel of de Beaujeu and de la Sale.

It was still worse when they reached St. Domingo; de la Sale bore orders from the Minister to Mr. de Cussi, who commanded for the king on that island,[4] and these orders concerned his enterprise. Mr. de Cussi's ordinary residence was at Port de Paix, on the north shore of the island, and the natural course was to proceed to that point. This Mr. de Beaujeu did not find suitable, and proceeded to anchor at Petit Goave, on the west shore, which he reached on the 27th of September.[5] He there learned that the Governor was at Port de Paix, with the

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[1] Joutel (Journal Historique, p. 16) says they came in sight of Madeira on the 20th.

[2] Burgher of La Rochelle, Joutel MS.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 17–18.

[4] Joutel, p. 23, says Governor of la Tortue or Tortugas.

[5] Joutel (Journal Historique, pp. 18-24) and Le Clercq (Etablissement, ii., p. 279) mention the dispersion of the fleet, Sept. 14th. The Joli reached Petit Goave first, followed by the Aimable and Belle. The St. François put in at Port de Paix and was captured by two Spanish periaguas while on her way to join the squadron. See, too, Cavelier (Relation du Voyage, p. 6, and Memoire au Roy, Ms.)

1684. Chevalier de Saint Laurent,[1] the lieutenant-general, and Mr. Begon, intendant of the French West Indies, who all, by virtue of a special commission from the king, had proceeded to Saint Domingo to aid Mr. de Cussi in regulating the police, giving due form to the administration of justice, and remedying several disorders which were ruining the commerce of that rising colony.

Vessel lost through Mr. de Beaujeu's fault.

Mr. de la Sale wrote, entreating the Governor to come and visit him, as he had many things to communicate for the king's service, and he could not possibly leave his vessels to wait upon the Governor. Not only Mr. de Cussi, but the Chevalier de Saint Laurent and Mr. Begon also, were complaisant enough to proceed to Petit Goave, where they found Mr. de la Sale very sick. Disappointment contributed not a little to his illness, for he had some days before learned that his ketch had been captured off the shores of St. Domingo by two Spanish periaguas, an accident that might have been avoided had they put in at Port de Paix, and which tended to widen the breach between him and de Beaujeu.[2]

It was not indeed easy to see what induced that commander to persist, as he did, in a matter that should apparently have been indifferent to him; but these gentlemen appeared bent on nothing scarcely but thwarting each other. A royal officer always finds it galling to be obliged to receive orders, on his own deck, from a private individual, without rank; but if de Beaujeu was not disposed to do what was expected of him in the matter, why did he accept the command on that condition?[3] On his side, de

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[1] Marquis. Joutel, p. 24.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 27; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 280; Cavelier, Journal du Voyage, p. 6. Memoire, 1717–20, Ms, Hennepin, Voyage, p. 206.

[3] The Lettre de Cachet à Mr. de La Salle, Versailles, April 12, 1684, was as follows: "Having chosen the Sieur de Beaujeu to command my ship, the Joly, on which you will embark, I order him to command in all that regards the working of the ship during the voyage, and to execute what you shall direct as to the course to be pursued, and moreover to give you, when you have landed, every service you demand of him except what may be against the safety of the said ship."

la Sale did not sufficiently appreciate what this condition must have cost a commandant, and failed to modify it by his manner; he showed no confidence in de Beaujeu, and met all the proposals of that officer by saying: "It is not the king's intention." This was not the means to interest in his enterprise a man whose co-operation was essential to its success; accordingly, when Mr. Cavelier, seeing his brother dangerously ill, requested de Beaujeu to have the kindness to take care of his affairs, he received no reply but that he knew nothing about them, and that they seemed to him in so wretched a state that it would do him no honor to interfere.[1] 1684.

They arrive in sight of Florida.

De la Sale recovered at last, and as, after some conversations with the Governor of St. Domingo and the two commissaries, who cordially agreed to all that was required of them,[2] nothing detained him at Petit Goave, he left it on the 25th of November,[3] more at variance than ever with Mr. de Beaujeu. On the 12th of December the squadron doubled Cape San Antonio, the western point of the island of Cuba, and entered the Gulf of Mexico; but, on the 14th, a violent head-wind forced them to put back to that cape, where they anchored till the 18th.[4] On the 28th they discovered the Florida shore, and, from what had been positively stated to de la Sale, namely, that the currents in the Gulf of Mexico set eastward, he had no doubt that the mouth of the Micissipi was still far to the westward, an error which led to all his misfortunes.[5]

He accordingly turned westward, but advanced slowly, as from time to time he approached the shore, and coasted

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[1] There was much sickness. Three or four died on the Joly, one on the Belle; there were sixty sick, of whom seven or eight died at St. Domingo. Five or six deserted there.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 28; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, p. 281.

[3] Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, p. 7; Hennepin, Voyage, p. 207.

[4] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 35–7; Le Clercq, ii., p. 282.

[5] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 39-40. Compare Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 283, who says they entered the gulf January 1st, and saw land in fifteen days, and Cavelier, Voyage, p. 8, who says they saw land January 6, 1685.

1685. along in sight of land, to examine whether he could not discover what he was seeking. On the 10th of January, 1685, the squadron was, according to subsequent conjectures, quite near the mouth of the Micissipi; but de la Sale, convinced that he was off the Apalaches, passed on without sending a boat ashore.[1] A few days after, from some idea that the Indians gave him, he wished to sail back to that place; but de Beaujeu refused to show him this complaisance, although bound to do so by virtue of the king's orders.[2] They became more embittered on both sides, and de la Sale, after unseasonable obstinacy on points far less important than this, yielded more unseasonably still, when he should have exerted the authority vested in him.

Mr. de la Sale passes the mouth of the Micissipi without perceiving it.

They accordingly held on the same route to the west, and the squadron in a few days reached St. Bernard's Bay, but without knowing it.[3] This bay is a hundred leagues west of the mouth of the Micissipi. Here they cast anchor, and the boats were sent to explore. They perceived a very fine river, with a bar at the entrance, where there were not more than ten or twelve feet of water.[4] After considerable coming and going, to endeavor to make out where they were, and several councils, in

He reaches St. Bernard's Bay without knowing where he is.

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[1] La Salle's Letter, March, 1685 (Thomassy, Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane, p. 20), says that the entrance seen January 6th, was the main channel, and he supposed when writing that another branch entered the bay where he was. He was afraid of the winds if he attempted to sail back to that channel, and asked Beaujeu to examine it on his way back. Joutel thinks that they were off the Mississippi on the 6th (Journal Hist., p. 44); and Cavelier, in his Memoire, says January 5–6, "We found a great opening which seemed to be 4 or 5 leagues between two points. It was the same latitude as La Salle found descending the river Colbert. A strong current and muddy water like that of the Colbert. Mr. de La Salle always thought that it was the Colbert. He did not enter for fear of missing Beaujeu. De l' Isle (Voy. au Nord, iv., p. 565) thinks La Salle passed it intentionally.

[2] Joutel, p. 61, Lettre de Cachet.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 62; Le Clercq, ii., p. 285; Cavelier, Relation, pp. 8, 9, says February 4th. The bay is called by them St. Louis; it was the Espiritu Santo of the Spaniards. La Salle's fort was on Matagorda bay.

[4] Joutel, p. 70; Le Clercq, ii., p. 286.

which nothing was agreed to, it being enough that one of the two leaders gave an opinion for the other to oppose it, de la Sale, who thought himself not far from the Micissipi, and to whom de Beaujeu's presence could only be an impediment, resolved to land all his force at that spot. 1685.

He loses his store-ship.

The resolution adopted, he sent orders, on the 20th of February, to the commander of the store-ship to unload the heaviest articles and bring her into the river.[1] He at the same time ordered the commander of the Belle to embark on the store-ship, as he did not trust her commander, either because he had his suspicions of the man or deemed him incapable of executing the required manœuvre; but that commander refused to receive the captain of the Belle.[2] On this refusal, de la Sale wished to superintend it in person; but La Sablonière, a lieutenant of infantry, and five or six other Frenchmen, having been carried off by the Indians while walking in the woods, he made all haste to deliver them.[3]

He was not yet far from the beach, when, on casting his eyes in that direction, he perceived his store-ship manœuvring so as to dash on the shoals, and his evil star, says Joutel, in his Relation, prevented his retracing his steps to prevent this misfortune. He kept on toward the village to which his men had been taken, and on reaching it he heard a cannon fired. This he had no doubt was to announce that his store-ship had struck, and his conjecture proved only too true. It was regarded as certain among all who witnessed the accident, that it was the result of premeditated design on the part of Sieur Aigron, who commanded the vessel.[4]

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[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 72; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, p. 286; and Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, p. 9, say the order was to wait for a pilot.

[2] Joutel (Journal Historique, p. 72) says the Pilot of La Belle.

[3] The party were cutting down a tree to make a canoe. Joutel, pp. 73–5.

[4] There can be little doubt of Aigron's guilt, the channel having been staked out (Joutel, pp. 71–9), and the refusal to take a pilot showing his intent. F. Anastasius says that in spite of the call of the man in the top to keep the luff, he ran her ashore. Le Clercq, ii., p. 286; Joutel, p. 79; Hennepin, p. 209.

1685. This loss, great as it was in itself, had still more distressing results. The ammunition, implements, tools, and, in general, all needed for a new settlement, were in the store-ship. De la Sale, whose anxiety to rescue his men had exceeded his care to prevent a dreaded misfortune, on effecting his first design, hastened to the spot where the ship had gone ashore, and found all inactive. He begged Mr. de Beaujeu to lend him his long-boat and yawl, and obtaining them without difficulty, began to save the crew; he then turned his attention to the powder and flour; then to the wine and brandy; and about thirty barrels were taken ashore.[1]

Consequences of this loss.

Had the store-ship's boat been able to assist the Joli's, almost all might have been discharged; but it was intentionally lost,[2] and night coming on, they had to defer completing the unlading till daylight; some hours after, the wind from seaward springing up, and the waves rising, the store-ship was driven on the rocks, which laid her open; quantities of goods were swept through the breach, and tossed to and fro by the waves. This was not seen till daybreak; then thirty more barrels of wine and brandy, with some barrels of flour, salt meat, and vegetables, were saved; all the rest was lost.[3]

To crown their misfortunes, they began to find themselves surrounded by Indians,[4] who, in spite of all precautions to prevent their taking advantage of the embarrassing position of the French, carried off several articles saved from the wreck. This was not even perceived till these savages had retired with their booty. They had

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 80.

[2] It was cut loose or destroyed the first night. Joutel, Journal, p. 81.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 81.

[4] These Indians were apparently the Bracamos (Cavelier, Relation, p. 12), perhaps the same as the Hebahamos of Joutel. Barcia (Ensayo Cronologico, p. 294) says that the fort was on the territory of the Quelanhubeches and Bahamos. Father Anastasius Douay (Le Clercq, ii., p. 329) mentions the Bahamos with the Quinets as hostile. Morfi does not give them in his list of Texas tribes, but apparently includes them among the Carancaguaces.

left several canoes on the shore, and these were seized: a petty reprisal, soon to cost far more than they were worth. The Indians returning to recover their canoes, came by night on those who had seized them, and finding them asleep, killed two volunteers, named Orry and Desloges, whom Mr. de la Sale greatly regretted, wounded Moranget and one other, but failed to recover the canoes.[1] 1685.

So many mishaps coming in close succession disheartened most of those who had joined the expedition, and among others Mr. de Dainmaville and the engineer Sieur Minet, who resolved to return to France, induced in no small degree by the language of La Sale's enemies, who were constantly decrying his conduct, and treating his project as a rash and foolhardy enterprise.[2]

As for La Sale he never displayed greater resolution and firmness: he built a store-house, and threw a good intrenchment around it; then, having taken it into his head that the river which he had entered might be one of the branches of the Micissipi, he prepared to ascend it.

Mr. de Beaujeu returns to France. His misconduct towards de la Sale.

At the same time learning that Mr. de Beaujeu was ready to sail back to France, de la Sale asked him to deliver to him the cannon and balls, on board his vessel, which had been shipped for his use. Beaujeu replied that all this was in the bottom of his hold, and that he would have to change all the stowage of his ship to get them out; that this operation would consume more time than was left him to avoid the usual bad weather of the season on which they were entering, and that he believed de la Sale too reasonable a man to expose him to perish. Yet he well knew that de la Sale had on shore only eight

[1] The party led by du Hamel, Beaujeu's lieutenant, went to the Indian hut and carried off some furs, &c., and then took the canoes, which they could not manage for want of paddles. Tired out, they landed for the night and their sentinel falling asleep they were surprised, March 5. Oris and Desloges were killed, Gayen and Moranget wounded. Joutel, Journ. Historique, pp. 82–90; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 288.

[2] D'amanville wrote a journal. DeLisle à Cassini, Voyages au Nord., iv., p. 565.

1685. small field-pieces, and not a single cannon-ball, and moreover men could not see how he had so inconveniently stowed away articles intended for de la Sale's settlement.[1]

He gave a still more marked proof of his ill-will. The treachery of the captain of the store-ship was established; de Beaujeu to shield him from any prosecution by de la Sale, received him on his ship with all the crew of that craft, and this against his express pledge to de la Sale to embark no one without his consent. La Sale's only resource was to write to the Minister to lay his complaints before him, a step which alleviated in no respect the sad position in which he was placed.[2]

La Sale builds two forts.

The Joli having set sail about the middle of March,[3] the colonists at once went to work on a fort. As soon as some progress was made, la Sale appointed Joutel to complete it, conferred the command on him, and left him about one hundred and twenty persons. He himself with the rest amounting at most to fifty men, among whom were Mr. Cavelier, his brother, Mr. Chefdeville, two Recollect Fathers, and several volunteers, embarked on the river, determined to ascend it as far as possible, yet he soon changed his mind.[4]

As the Indians came prowling every night around the new fort, Joutel, whom he had cautioned against allowing them to approach too near, fired several guns to drive

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[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 93. Thomassy (Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane), p. 20, cites part of the letter sent back by de la Salle to Seignelay. It is dated "March 4, 1685, at the western mouth of the river Colbert." It describes the bay at length.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 94.

[3] Joutel, who had lost his memoranda, does not profess to be certain, but thinks Beaujeu sailed March 4, 1685. Cavelier gives the same date (Relation du Voyage, p. 9), but Father Anastasius Douay (Le Clercq, ii., p. 290; Hennepin, 211), says, 12th, as does the Procès Verbal.

[4] In five canoes. Joutel, p. 95. On March 24. Procès Verbal. Cavelier describes the fort as having 14 cannon, with quite convenient little houses and store-houses. Relation, p. 11. He calls it Fort de St. Louis, p. 12. Cavelier says nothing of this excursion of la Salle, in his Relation du Voyage. Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 290; Hennepin, p. 211) makes Moranget com-

them off. De la Sale, who was not yet very far, not knowing what it was, returned with six or seven men, but found every thing in a satisfactory state.[1]

He told Joutel that he had already discovered a charming country, that he intended to throw up a second fort at the place where he had left his men, and that he had even ordered them, when he left, to prepare all necessary materials. He then started back to his party, and the first thing that he learned on reaching his camp, was, that several of his workmen had suffered their tools to be carried off by the Indians.[2] He gave them others; but these fellows lacked something else besides tools: they did not know how to handle them, and the work advanced very slowly.[3]

Early in June, the Sieur de Villeperdry reached the first fort with an order addressed to Moranget, directing him to join de la Sale with all the rest of his men, except thirty, whom he was to leave with Joutel and the Sieur le Gros, storekeeper, to guard it. This was at once carried out.[4] Fishing and hunting kept this first fort in plenty,[5] and the commandant maintained peace and order by mild means; but this did not prevent two scoundrels from conspiring against him and the storekeeper, a very worthy man.[6]

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mand the fort. The Procès Verbal, both Joutel and Moranget. The two Recollect fathers who went were Zenobius Membré and Maximus Le Clercq. La Salle at the same time ordered the frigate to enter the bay. It anchored at the mouth of Rivière des Vaches, still called Lavaca. Le Clercq, p. 291; Cavelier, p. 11. The point was called Point Hurier, a small camp being formed here under Sieur Hurier. Le Clercq, ii., p. 291. Hennepin errs in making the frigate enter long before. Voyage, p. 209.

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 96. Joutel had 130 persons in his fort.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 97. He adds, p. 98, that early in April, 1685, a Spanish vessel was seen apparently looking for them. Soon after, April 22d, the Sieur le Gros was bitten by a rattlesnake.

[3] Procès Verbal.

[4] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 103.

[5] They laid in fish and salt for future use. Joutel, pp. 98, 101, 105.

[6] Joutel, p. 105. Father Anastasius is less detailed. He makes Moranget's camp and Hurier's break-up in April immediately after Easter. Le Clercq, ii., p. 292.

1685. Their design was to stab both, then take from the storehouse whatever suited their fancy, and desert. A day was fixed for the accomplishment of this nefarious design; but one of the conspirators having revealed it to Davault, a hunter, the latter at once warned Joutel, who seized the mutineers and put them in irons.[1]

Conspiracy against Joutel.

On the 14th of July he received a second order, directing him to join de la Sale with all his force. He obeyed, and on reaching that commander's camp, delivered up to him his two prisoners, with proofs of their plot.

Sad position of the colony.

This information, clearly exposing the injudicious character of his selection of settlers, greatly depressed la Sale. For his part, Joutel was greatly surprised to see so little done on the fort. Nothing was yet covered but a little, square, stone building, containing the powder and some barrels of brandy. They had planted and sowed, but all had failed for want of rain, or had been rooted up by wild beasts.[2] Several good men, among them the Sieur de Villeperdry were dead; the sick increased in number daily: in a word, nothing was more deplorable than de la Sale's position. He was worn down with disappointment; but he dissembled well. With that firmness of mind which was his leading characteristic, but often degenerated into a stubborn harshness, he had in the highest degree the talent of resource, and his ingenuity made him find in himself what lacked in others. As soon as he saw his whole force assembled, he began in earnest to build and fortify. He became the architect of his own fort,[3] and as he was always the first to put his hand to work, each one, in emulation, did his best.

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[1] Joutel, Journal, pp. 104–5.

[2] This was about the middle of July. He put all on board the Belle, and tried to make a raft of the timber he had dressed, but finally buried it, and marched along the sea-shore to an Indian village, where they passed the night, then to Hurier's camp, where he put all his stores and slept; the next day he reached La Salle in canoes. Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 105–8.

[3] Procès Verbal, Ms. His camp was a league from the wood, and his carpenters incompetent. Having no horses, they had to drag the timber by hand. Joutel, p. 109.

It was only necessary to encourage this good-will; but la Sale could not control his temper. At the very time when his men were spent with toil, and he could scarcely give them the absolute necessaries of life, he could not command himself so far as in the least to relax his severity, or an inflexible mood, never seasonable, and least of all in a new settlement. The slightest fault he punished with a kind of cruelty, and there seldom escaped from his lips any word of encouragement or consolation for those who suffered most patiently. He consequently had the mortification of seeing almost all his men sink into a languor, caused rather by their despair than by overwork or lack of good food, and which carried off many.[1] 1685. LaSale's excessive severity and its fruits.

The most annoying thing was that through the imprudence of some of the French, the natives of the country declared against them, and it was impossible to regain their friendship. It seems, indeed, that no steps were taken to do so.

These Indians who were called Clamcoets,[2] are cruel, treacherous, of a perverse mind, mocking disposition, by nature ralliers, mimicking for sport all they see done, and so skillfully concealing all these defects under a gay and open exterior, that they are never more to be feared than when they display the greatest friendship. They have intoxicating liquors, and are much addicted to drunkenness. One of their strongest liquors is made from a kind of bean, which they chew, and then steep in water. They The Indians harass the French. Disposition of the Clamcoets.

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[1] By August, thirty were dead, including the head carpenter. These were followed by Le Gros, Carpentier, and Thibault, of Rouen. Joutel, pp. 112–3. The Procès Verbal, dated St. Louis, April, 18, 1686, says more than half died before the end of July, especially the sailors, from eating fruit, &c.

[2] These Clamcoets are called in Spanish authors, Carancaguaces. Morfi, Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Texas, Lib. iv., p. 54. In Bonnel's Topographical Description of Texas, Austin, 1840, p. 137, the Carancahuas are mentioned as still on La Baca bay, but reduced to 100 souls. They do not appear in Stem's list, 1851. Schoolcraft, iii., p. 635.

1685. believe that it makes their limbs supple, and swifter in running. They drink it to such an excess that they often only swallow and vomit. They make another from the leaves of some unknown tree, which they boil, then brew as we do chocolate, and which foams considerably. They drink it very hot, and use it especially to refresh themselves after a long march.

Their customs bear very little resemblance to those of other Indians whom we know of in North America; but the most singular thing is their way of expressing affection: sometimes they merely blow into the ear of those whom they wish to salute; at other times they begin by rubbing the chest and arms with their hand, then do the same to the person whom they wish to honor or caress. The men go almost entirely naked, the women are covered only from the waist to the knees. Both have a fearful expression, betokening a ferocity which their conduct does not belie.[1]

Character of the country.

These savages inhabit a very fine country, and adapted for almost all the most useful productions of nature. The climate is healthy and temperate, the air pure, the sky serene. The cattle mentioned elsewhere, and commonly called Illinois cattle, are very common there, as well as stags and deer. Lions and tigers are seen there, but bears and wolves still more plentifully. The Indians tame these last, by taking them quite small, and training them to hunt like dogs, unless indeed the author of the memoir which I follow, has not taken for wolves, dogs, such as the Canada tribes use, and which have, as I myself remarked, straight ears and a long muzzle, like wolves.[2]

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[1] As to these Indians, see Joutel, p. 84, Morfi (Memorias, Ms.). Espinosa, El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante, unfortunately does not give any description of the Indians.

[2] Joutel, p. 128, and Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., pp. 371, &c.), are silent as to bears and wolves, lions and tigers. La Harpe (Journal Historique, p. 205) speaks of lions, and describes them a reddish animal of the size of a horse. As to the use of wolves in hunting, Charlevoix seems to have read hastily. Joutel, p. 354. See Charlevoix (French), vol. iii., p. 119.

Small game swarms in the country, and the rivers are well stocked with fish. They would apparently be still more so, were they not full of alligators. The prairies are alive with rattlesnakes.[1] On all sides you can perceive only quite level plains extending out of sight, but agreeably intersected by rivers, lakes, and small woods, which form a charming landscape. The fields produce a number of herbs, to which great virtues are ascribed; it is certain, at least, that the Indians use them freely, without being subject to any important malady. 1685.

The most common trees in the woods are chestnuts, walnuts, mulberries, palm-trees of many kinds, and several others unknown in Europe. They all grow exceedingly tall. There are several trees which bear excellent fruit. The vines with which all the woods are studded bear white and red grapes. Besides the ordinary walnuts, there are others larger and very good.[2] Filberts, mulberries, and banana figs, are found everywhere. Among the fruits peculiar to the country, there is an egg-shaped one that grows on a thorny bush, and is very refreshing. The Spaniards call it Tsonnos, and are very fond of it.[3]

Mention is also made of a root, very common in this district of Florida, and which some have supposed to be ginger. The Indians pretend that it makes the hair grow, and, under this conviction, rub the head with it after chewing it.[4] It seldom rains in that country, yet the soil is very fertile. Nor is salt wanting, the sun forming it on the sea-shore and the banks of some lakes, so that it can be had with little trouble beyond that of gathering it.[5]

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[1] Joutel here mentions the Horned Frog, pp. 128–130.

[2] Joutel mentions neither chestnut nor mulberry (pp. 132–3); though F. Anastasius mentions the latter. The large nut is the pecan.

[3] Joutel, p. 132. Perhaps the fruit of the opuntia vulgaris, or prickly-pear.

[4] Joutel and F. Anastasius are silent as to this plant.

[5] Joutel, p. 100; Cavelier, Relation, p. 15. The most remarkable Salt lake is in Hidalgo county.

1685. A little further inland there are several other tribes who live almost in the same manner as the Clamcoets: that is to say, who have no fixed abodes, and do nothing scarcely but hunt and fish, encamping wherever night overtakes them; but the French had no intercourse with them, and Joutel merely gives us the names, with which I deem it useless to encumber this history.[1]

About a hundred leagues farther north, you come to the Cenis or Assenis, who seem much more humane; they are more sedentary, cultivate the ground, plant Indian corn, beans, squashes, water-melons, and other similar vegetables. They also plant tobacco, and raise horses in great numbers, generally using them to bring home the fruits of their hunts.[2]

These Indians make war quite differently from all the other Florida tribes. They are all mounted, equipped with buffalo-skin quivers, full of arrows, slung across the back. They carry a bow, and a small pad of buffalo hide on the left arm, to ward off arrows. They have no bit to their horses' bridles, except a hair cord. Their stirrups, which are sustained by a cord in the same way, are attached to a doeskin folded over twice, and

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[1] He names, p. 182, apparently beginning at Fort St. Louis, the Spicheets, Kabayes, Thecamons, Theauremets, Kiaboha, Chaumenés, Kouans, Arhau, Enepiahœ, Ahouerhopiheim, Koienkahé, Konkoné, Omeaossé, Keremen, Ahehoen, Meghay, Tecamenez, Otenmarhem, Kouayan, Meracouman, on the route to the Cenis, and to the west and northwest of the Maligne river, the Kannehouan, Tohahe, Pehir, Coyabegux, Onapien, Pichar, Tohan, Kiasses, Chancres, Tsera, Bocrettes, Tsepehoen, Ferconteha, Panego, Petao, Petaz, Petzares, Peisacho, Peihoum, and Orcampiou, according to the orthography of Joutel's manuscript. Joutel wrote this among the Teao, where he heard of the Ayano and Canohatino who plundered the Spaniards. It is impossible now to indentify these tribes. Among those enumerated by Father Morfi, few bear any resemblance. The Konkoné may be the Cocos who were near Brazos. The Thecamons and Tecamenez may be the Tacames among whom the Mission of Purissima Concepcion of Acuña was founded in 1716. La Harpe's list of tribes near the Cenis, Journal Historique, p. 208, only increases the confusion.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 214–5, 220, 227; Compare La Harpe, Journal, p. 213; and Penicaut, ch. xiv., Ms.

serving as a saddle; these stirrups are small strips of wood three inches wide, and five long. They are fine horsemen.[1] 1685.

If their prisoners can escape, and enter one of their cabins, they cannot be put to death, and even become free, and members of the nation. Those who are not fortunate enough to escape are put to death in the following manner: They raise a frame similar to that used by the Illinois and other Louisiana tribes described elsewhere, with this difference, that it is about nine feet high, and the prisoner is fastened to the upper cross-piece by the wrists, and to the lower one by the ankles, with well-tightened cords, which thus support him in the air. They remain in this posture half an hour in the morning, turned towards the rising sun, and as long in the evening, turned towards it setting.

The first day they are not subjected to any other torture; but they receive nothing to eat: and all the time that they are unbound, they are forced to dance. The second day they are tied up before sunrise, and immediately the whole village assembles around the frame, men and women. Each family lights its fire, and heats a dish of water. As soon as the sun rises, four old men with knives cut gashes in the arms, legs, and thighs of the sufferer, and catch in dishes the blood that flows from his wounds. They then carry this blood to other old men, who boil it in kettles and give it to the women and children to drink. The author of the manuscript, from which I draw these details, does not say whether these poor creatures are burnt, or allowed to expire in the frame; but he adds that when they are dead, they are stretched on a table, cut in pieces, and these pieces distributed to the whole assembly; that every family cooks its share; that till it is cooked, all dance, after which they eat it.[2]

[1] Penicaut, Relation ou Annale Veritable, ch., xiv. § 5.

[2] This matter is taken from Penicaut, Relation ou Annale Véritable, ch. xiv, § 5, where he describes his own visit to the Cenis. It is not in

1685. The Cenis have as neighbors the Ayennis,[1] with whom they live in harmony, and who are fewer in number, although the Cenis themselves, according to Joutel, have not over a thousand men able to bear arms. The two nations apparently at first constituted but one, their language, their customs, and their tone of mind being almost identical. Their cabins are quite far apart, each family having its field around its own. These cabins are round, and Joutel compares them to bee-hives or cocks of hay. There are large cabins, not used as habitations, but only for assemblies of the people, either for amusement or the transaction of public affairs.

Those used as residences are also generally very large. Some are sixty feet in diameter, and contain fifteen or twenty households, having nothing in common but the fire, which is in the middle of the cabin, and is never allowed to go out. To build one of these cabins, they plant in a circle trees as thick as a man's thigh, in such a manner that they touch on top; they are then connected by cross-pieces to hold the grass with which the cabin is thatched. The furniture of these Indians consists of a few very well-dressed buffalo or deer skins and some finely-worked mats, and well-made earthenware. These they use to cook their meat, sagamity, and vegetables.

Joutel, pp. 212–227, Father Anastasius, Le Clercq, ii., p., 320, nor in Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, pp. 32, &c. Father Morfi includes under the name of Texas (which he explains as Texia, "friends") the Texas, Asinais, Navedachos, Nagcodoches, Nacogdoches, Nadocogs, Ahijites, Codogdachos, and Nassonis. These Texas, in 1761, were governed by Sanate Adivia (Great Lady), a chieftainess with four husbands. Penicaut states quite clearly that the prisoner was bled to death on the frame.

[1] Evidently a misprint for Assony, mentioned by Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 212. They met a man of this tribe who showed them a printed Spanish document (Joutel, p. 212; Le Clercq, ii., p. 321); but this, probably from State motives, is not here mentioned by Charlevoix. Cavelier also mentions, p. 13, finding among a tribe next to the Bracamos a column with the Spanish arms. The Assonis are evidently the tribe elsewhere called Nassonis. Le Clercq, ii., p. 325.

They have also baskets made of canes, in which they keep their fruits and other provisions. Their beds, raised three feet from the ground, are made of a frame-work of canes, neatly arranged with mats and skins dressed with the hair on. Both these serve as mattresses and coverlets. The beds are also separated by mats hung as curtains.[1] 1685.

When the season is come for tilling the ground, sometimes a hundred persons assemble, men and women apart. Thus they labor till they have cultivated a certain portion of ground, the owner of which then regales the laborers, and the rest of the day is spent in dances and diversions. The next day they begin again, and this lasts till all the fields are tilled. The labor is not, however, toilsome: they content themselves with turning over the surface of the ground with a large stick, split[2] at the end, inserted in another stick that serves as a handle: for these tribes have no iron implements. When all the fields are thus prepared, the men withdraw: sowing the seed, as well as all the indoor-work, being left solely to the women.

These Indians, both men and women, are well-formed, and their features are not naturally disagreeable; but they prick and paint themselves like the Canada tribes. This they fondly regard as a beauty, although it disfigures them greatly in the eyes of Europeans. They are not better dressed than the Clamcoets, except when the north wind blows: for then they cover themselves with buffalo-robes or well-dressed deer-skins; but they never have any thing on their heads. Their manners are not very different from those of the Louisiana tribes. The women are not very difficult to seduce; but if sur-

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[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 217–219; Father Anastasius, in Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 320. Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, pp. 32–3, mentions that they made cloth of hair and of feathers.

[2] This should be "pointed." Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 219–220.

1685. prised by their husbands in adultery, they fare badly. The least that can befall them is repudiation.

They have no temple or any thing denoting an ordered worship. Yet they do not seem devoid of religion: for when the grain is ripe, they gather a certain quantity, which they put into a basket, and these baskets are placed on a kind of pedestal, set apart especially for this purpose. Then an old man, extending his hands over them, recites quite a long formula, before he distributes the corn among the women. It is not lawful to eat the new corn till a week after this ceremony. The same ceremony is observed in some repasts which are made in common. The sagamity is not handed around to the guests till it is put in a vessel, set also on a stool, and an old man has recited his formula over the viands, with outspread hands. So, too, when a young man is armed for the first time, and is on the point of sowing his ground, his arms and seed-corn are similarly consecrated, as it were.[1]

Mr. de la Sale wishes to seek the Micissipi by sea.

Meanwhile de la Sale at last completed his fort, to which he gave the name of St. Louis.[2] Then, unable to abandon the idea that the Micissipi emptied into the bay where he landed, and which he called also St. Louis bay, he resolved to sail around it in his frigate. He embarked in the month of October, leaving in his fort thirty-four

[1] Joutel, pp. 219–225.

[2] Joutel, p. 126, describes this fort as about 27° N., two leagues inland from the bay, and near the river, on a hill in the prairies, with the bay S. and W., and the river E. to N. A bluff ran along the river, and between the bluff and the fort hill was a swamp. The site was visited by Don Andres de Pes, in 1689 (Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 295); and on the 6th of April, 1722, a new octagonal fort, called Santa Maria de Loreto de la bahia del Espiritu Santo, was built here, on the site of La Salle's, by the Spaniards. While digging, they found many relics. Morfi, Memorias para la historia de la provincia de Texas. It would, therefore, seem that the fort was on the San Antonio, which empties into Espiritu Santo bay, and not on the Lavaca, which empties into Matagorda bay, as assumed by Sparks, Life of La Sale, p. 131; Bancroft, Hist. of the U. States, iii., p. 170; Yoakum, History of Texas, p. 19, whom we followed on p. 68. The last-named writer (p. 74) places the presidio of Loreto on Matagorda bay, while he admits that the mission was on the San Antonio; but, from Morfi's statement, the presidio was clearly on Espiritu Santo bay.

persons under the command of Joutel, forbidding that officer to receive any of those whom he took with him, unless they handed in, a letter in his handwriting.[1] He had recently lost the Sieur Le Gros, who, having been bit by a rattlesnake, and not knowing the present remedy found everywhere for that bite, had been obliged to submit to an amputation of the leg, and died soon after the operation.[2] This storekeeper, useful in many respects, was a very good manager. He was one of those whose loss de la Sale most keenly regretted. 1685-6.

After the departure of the frigate, more than three months elapsed before any tidings reached (Fort) St. Louis. At last, towards the middle of January, 1686, very sad intelligence was brought by the Sieur Duhaut, whose younger brother, Dominic, had remained at the fort. The elder, who had followed de la Sale, arrived without bringing any letter from him. He was alone in a canoe, and was heard one night calling his brother. The sentinel notified the commandant, who at first feared that some melancholy accident had happened; he advanced to address Duhaut, and after the latter had assured him that de la Sale was in perfect health, he asked him whether he had his written permission to return to the fort. Duhaut replied in the negative; but he gave so apparently sincere an account of what occasioned his return, that Joutel believed he might waive enforcing the order already mentioned. He accordingly permitted Duhaut to enter the fort.[3] The man's account of his adventures was as follows: On arriving in sight of his frigate, de la Sale, he said, sent five of his best men to it, enjoining them to advise the pilot,[4] from him, to sound the anchorage in a boat. The pilot obeyed, and spent a

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, 116. He there charges with inaccuracy the account of F. Anastasius (Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 296) as to what stores he had. Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, p. 16, says they set out Nov. 1, 1685; Joutel says in October.

[2] He died Aug. 29, 1685. Joutel, p. 112.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 120–1.

[4] This pilot, Texier, was in command, the captain having died of disease. Procès Verbal, Ms. But see note 4, page 86.

1686. whole day in this duty; at nightfall, apparently, finding himself tired, he went ashore, with those who brought him the order, and built a fire. Then they fell asleep, without taking any precaution against the Indians, who seeing, by the fire, that they were Frenchmen, crept up during the night, killed the six men while sound asleep, and destroyed their boat.[1]

Several of the French massacred by Indians.

La Sale not seeing them return at the time appointed, went himself for them, and found the sad remains of their corpses, which wolves or other carnivorous beasts had almost completely devoured. He especially deplored his pilot, a skillful man, and soon had still greater reason to regret him. He then made the frigate come further up the bay, and sent on board all the provisions which he needed for the enterprise that he meditated, and left in it some of his people, whom he forbade to leave it without an order from him, or go ashore without an escort.[2]

This done, he embarked with twenty men in two canoes to cross the bay, and, as soon as he reached the other side, he sunk his two canoes in the water, and pursued his journey by land. After some days' march, he came to the banks of a fine river, which he called the Maligne; a little farther on, Duhaut, having loitered behind the rest, got lost, and before he knew it, found himself in sight of Fort St. Louis. As there was nothing improbable in his story, Joutel could not refuse to credit it, and contented himself with a close watch on Duhaut's movements.

About the middle of the month of March,[3] de la Sale arrived at St. Louis in a most wretched plight with his brother, Mr. Cavelier, his nephew Moranget, and five or six men, having sent the rest to look for his frigate, as to which he felt some anxiety. Although he had not found what he

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 121–3; Cavelier, Relation, p. 30.

[2] Duhaut's statement in Joutel, p. 123, makes La Salle send his brother, Cavelier, on board of the Belle; but Cavelier's account clashes.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 123–136. The Procès Verbal says the 24th of March; Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, p. 29, says March 30, 1686; F. Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., 398) says 31st.

sought,[1] he seemed, on the whole, satisfied with his excursion, and said that he had traversed very fine districts. This did not improve his affairs much, as no one knew better than himself; but he felt the necessity of not discouraging his men, and he was an accomplished master of the art of cloaking his disappointment. The sight of Duhaut, whom he deemed a deserter, troubled him somewhat at first, and he asked Joutel why he had received him, contrary to orders. Joutel explained his reasons, and he seemed satisfied. 1686.

The next day young Cavelier, his nephew, and all whom he had sent to look for the frigate, returned to the fort, and told him that they could learn nothing of it. This threw him into a great perplexity, because he had left on board his linen, clothes, papers, and most valuable effects. Moreover, his design was to use this vessel: first, to ascend some of the rivers that he had discovered; then to dispatch it to the West Indies to ask assistance; or, to embark in person, and reconnoitre all the shore of the Gulf of Mexico till he found the Micissipi, if he should lose all hope of entering that river by one of the streams emptying into the bay.[2]

He, however, adopted his course with his usual firmness, and, towards the end of April, set out on a new expedition.[3]

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[1] Joutel, p. 137, says "although he had not found the fatal river," yet Cavelier pretends (Relation du Voyage, p. 29) that he did reach the Mississippi, March, 10th, 1686, and left some men in a fort there, after falling in with some Shawnees, who had belonged to the party with which he descended the Mississippi, in 1682. Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 279; Hennepin, p. 217) says "Feb. 13th, 1686, he thought he found the river." In Tonty's work, as first printed, Cavelier says the same (Voyages au Nord, v., p. 154); but Joutel refutes it. Journal Historique, p. 45. See Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 29.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 137-8; Cavelier, Relation du Voyage, p. 29; F. Anastasius, in Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi. ii., p. 298.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 140. Cavelier, Relation, p. 32, says April 13th; but Cavelier, in the Tonty in the V. au Nord, v., p. 155, and Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 303; Hennepin, p. 221), say the 22d. Father Anastasius declares he was one of the party. Joutel, pp. 140–147, is confused.

1686-90. Some days after his departure,[1] Mr. de Chefdeville, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and some of the others,[2] who had remained on the Belle, arrived at St. Louis in a boat, with his clothes, a part of his papers, his linen, and some provisions. Joutel asked them where the frigate was, and they replied that it had run ashore, and gone to pieces. They related to him the circumstances of this new misfortune, which deprived de la Sale of the only resource on which he could rely after so many disappointments. According to them, it happened in this way:

Wreck of the frigate.

The ship being out of water, the Sieur Planterose went, with six others, to get a fresh supply from the nearest river. As they were returning on board with their load, head-winds detained them a long time, and, night overtaking them, they could not reach the vessel. Those on board, who had witnessed their efforts to return, lighted a fire to guide them in the darkness;[3] but when the fire went out soon after, no one thought of rekindling it, and neither the boat nor any one belonging to it ever appeared. They waited for them some days, but in vain; at last, the crew of the frigate, pressed by thirst, endeavored to get nearer in to the settlement, which was only two leagues off, on the bank of the river; but, the extreme weakness in which all had fallen—perhaps, too, want of skill—prevented their working the ship properly, and, an adverse wind springing up, the vessel was driven ashore on the opposite side of the bay, and stranded.[4]

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[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 140.

[2] Father Anastasius says Mr. Chefdeville, the captain, and four others. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 299. Joutel says Chefdeville, the Marquis, and some others. Journal, p. 141.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 141–2, citing Mr. Chefdeville. The fire was simply a candle in a lantern. Cavelier speaks of ten shot by the Bracamos. Relation, p. 30.

[4] The Procès Verbal treats this as false, and charges that those on the Belle cut the cables, and were endeavoring to get to sea, when she was lost. It represents it as under command of Texier, the pilot —a second one of the name, apparently

These poor people, thus wrecked in a desolate country, and destitute of boats, saw no means of escape but by building a raft to cross the bay; but they built it so wretchedly that the few who risked themselves on it were all drowned. The others built a second, which proved better. On this they put all they could save of the frigate, and crossed over safely. They then remained sometime on the shore in great perplexity, because they durst not, on account of the Indians, hazard making the rest of the way by land, and their raft could not ascend the river. At last, they found a wretched canoe, which they repaired as well as they could, and in it reached St. Louis.[1]

Mutiny and plot at St. Louis.

Two months then passed without their being able to learn what had become of de la Sale. Nor was this prolonged absence what most disgusted the commandant: to his grief, he beheld his colony daily diminish; sickness carried off his best men; the Indians butchered all who strayed off, hunting; some deserted, and were not ashamed to take refuge among the savages, and conform to their life; finally, some began to murmur, and from murmurs they proceeded to the most odious plots.

The elder Duhaut, whose younger brother had gone with Mr. de la Sale, put himself at the head of the malcontents, and Joutel learned that he pretended to nothing less than making himself the head of the band.

Yet, to all appearance, this wretch had not yet formed the black design, which he subsequently carried out. The height of wickedness is reached only by degrees; and Duhaut had, as yet, no motive to impel him to commit a parricide. The fact is, that on the threat made by his commandant to arrest him if he continued to cabal, he restrained himself pretty well, till Mr. de la Sale's return to St. Louis, in the month of August. He then learned the loss of his frigate with an equan-

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 142–4; see Hennepin in Voyages au Nord, v., p. 218.

1686–90. imity, the more admirable, as he had, during his voyage, met with irreparable losses.[1]

Mr. de la Sale's excursion to the Cenis. He loses a part of his men.

He had penetrated to the Cenis, with whom he had formed an alliance, and he was incessantly extolling the beauty and excellence of the country which he had traversed; but he was no wiser as to what he sought, and the whole profit of his excursion was reduced to five horses, loaded with some provisions, furnished by his new allies. On the other hand, out of twenty men whom he had taken with him, he brought back only eight. On arriving, he inquired whether young Duhaut, Le Clercq, Hurier, and two others, who are not named in my memoirs, were in the fort, to which he had given them leave to return. He was told that not one of them had made his appearance. He added that the Sieur Bihorel had got astray on the way, and had not been seen afterwards; that Dumenil, one of his servants, had been dragged under the water, and devoured by a crocodile; and that four others had deserted while he was among the Cenis.[2]

He falls sick.

So many losses produced a bad impression on all who remained at St. Louis. La Sale did not give sufficient attention to this fact, and at once determined on a third expedition; but, as the heat was excessive, he deemed it best to defer it till the month of October. The Clamcoets kept harassing him incessantly, and killed two more of his men almost before his eyes. This confirmed his already-formed resolution to get

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 147–151. F. Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 327; Hennepin, p. 235) says he reached the fort, October 17th. Cavelier gives no date.

[2] As to this expedition we have the accounts of Father Anastasius, and of Mr. Cavelier. They marched N. E., passing Indians evidently in intercourse with Spaniards, crossing the Robek, Maligne, and Hiens rivers; then struck E. to the Biskatrongé or Weepers, passing the Kironomes, till they reached the Cenis. Here La Sale and Moranget fell sick, and four men deserted. On his recovery La Sale started back. Anastasius, in Le Clercq, ii., 303–327. Sparks (Life of La Sallé, p. 152) thinks he crossed the Colorado, Brazos, and Trinity, and reached a point near the headwaters of the Sabine, between the Trinity and Red rivers.

away from those savages. His design was to endeavor to reach the Illinois, and he was on the point of beginning his march, when he was attacked by a violent hernia, which obliged him to defer his departure. 1687-90.

Joutel, seeing him in this state, offered to make the journey with fifteen men, but his offer was not accepted. La Sale told him that his presence was necessary at the Illinois, and that he wished thence to dispatch his brother, Cavelier, to France. Toward the end of December he was relieved from his malady, and made serious preparations for his march. He wished Joutel to accompany him on this trip, and in his stead appointed the Sieur Barbier[1] to command at St. Louis. Since his return from the Cenis, he had fortified this post quite well, and he flattered himself that he had put it beyond reach of insult from the Indians. He left as much provisions as was required for all who were to remain there: that is to say, for twenty persons, including seven women, or girls, the Recollect Fathers Maximus and Zenobius, Mr. de Chefdeville, the Marquis de la Sablonniere, and a surgeon.[2]

He sets out for the Illinois.

After giving his final orders, he began his march January 12th, 1687, with sixteen men, including his brother, Mr. Cavelier, his nephews, Moranget and the younger Cavelier, Father Anastasius, Joutel, Duhaut, Larchevêque, de Marle; a German from Wittenberg, named Hiens[3]—an old buccaneer, engaged at Petit Goave; Liotot, a surgeon; the pilot Tessier, young Talon, Saget, Mr. de la Sale's

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[1] Iberville, in a note to an extract from Talon's Interrogations, says that Gabriel Minime, or Barbier, was of Montreal, and that he knew him. Barbier married, at the fort, a girl who had come over with the colony from France, and a child was born of the union.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 154–7, complains that others made the number much larger. Neither Cavelier (pp. 35–6) nor F. Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 331) mentions any number. John Baptist Talon says, in his Interrogations, twenty or twenty-five.

[3] Some call him Jemme, and say he was an English soldier; but they are apparently mistaken. *Charlevoix.* This is stated in the Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Talon, Sept. 14, 1698, Ms. Hennepin thinks Huens, or Hiens, a mistake for Hans, "John."

1687-90. lackey, and a good Indian hunter.[1] These names are all given, as they will frequently occur in the sequel. To spare the travelers, de la Sale loaded the five horses that he had brought from the Cenis with the greater part of the baggage and provisions.

Although their course lay through a very fine country, they nevertheless suffered considerably, especially by reason of the rains, which had caused most of the rivers to overflow their banks. Indians were frequently encountered; de la Sale conciliated them all by his kind manner; but this did not throw him off his guard, or prevent his encamping with the greatest precaution. As the difficulty of crossing the rivers increased—some that they came to being very wide, and without fords—necessity suggested the invention of a canoe, which was carried on poles, and proved highly useful.[2]

As they advanced into the country, they found it more thickly peopled, and when only forty leagues from the Cenis they learned that there was a Frenchman among the Indians.[3] On the 17th of May,[4] Moranget, while out hunting, hav-

[1] Joutel gives the date, 12th, and says they were 17 in all. (Journal, pp. 157–8.) Cavelier says the 6th; and that La Salle took 28 men. (Relation, p. 35.) Father Anastasius (in Le Clercq and in Hennepin) says he selected 20 men, and started the 7th January, 1687.

[2] This was a frame-work of poles, covered with buffalo-skin, a boat like the ancient coracle of the British Isles. Joutel, p. 178.

[3] He learned this Feb. 17, from the Teaos. Ib., p. 183.

[4] Charlevoix here passes over three months. La Salle reached Princess river, the branch of a river flowing into the bay, and, unable to cross it, ascended its bank, through cane and thicket, to the Hebahamos or Bracamos (Joutel; Cavelier), whose war parties against the Erigoanna he met soon after starting. (F. Anastasius.) Keeping N. E., he passed the Quinets, the two Cane rivers, the Quara and Anachorema Indians, and Robec river. (Ib.) Then crossing the Sablonnière, they reached the Maligne (Feb. 2), where he made his hide-boat (Joutel; Anastasius), and, crossing, kept on to the Eure (Joutel, p. 179), apparently the Hiens river of F. Anastasius (p. 335), passing various tribes. (Ante, p. 78.) La Salle then struck N. N. E., and reached the Taraha, Tyakappan, and Palonna. (Anastasius.) Cavelier makes La Salle reach them, Jan. 20, 22, and the Cenis, Feb. 8; but his dates are evidently wrong. Joutel makes La Salle arrive finally among the Teaos, friends of the Ayano, or Canohatinno. (Joutel.) By February 20, they came to the Palaquechaune or Palaquesson (Anastasius, p. 335), allies of the Cenis.

ing, it is said, spoken insultingly to Duhaut, Hiens, and the surgeon Liotot, these three men resolved to make away with him as speedily as possible, and to begin by Mr. de la Sale's lackey, and Nica, his Indian hunter, who attended Moranget, and might defend him.[1]

Moranget with la Sale's lackey and hunter assassinated.

They broached their design to Larchevêque and to Tessier, the pilot, who approved it, and offered to join in carrying it out. They said nothing to the Sieur de Marle, who was with them, and whom they would gladly have got away. The next night, while the three unfortunate victims of their vengeance were quietly asleep, Liotot dealt each several blows with a hatchet on the head. The Indian and the lackey expired on the spot; Moranget sat up, but without uttering a single word, and the assassins compelled the Sieur de Marle to finish him, threatening, if he refused, to deal with him as they had with the rest; they doubtless wished to make him an accomplice in their crime, so as to make sure that he would not accuse them.[2]

Nevertheless, as it is rare that a first crime is not followed by that uneasiness which the most hardened criminals have always some trouble in calming, the murderers felt that it would not be easy to escape La Sale's just vengeance, unless they anticipated him, and on this

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[1] Crossing Canoe river on the 6th March, La Salle, on the 15th, sent off Duhaut, Hiens, Liotot, Nika, and Saget, to get some provisions he had put in a *cache*, on his last trip. These they found spoilt, but killed two bison, and boucanned the meat. Learning this from Saget, La Salle sent Moranget, de Marle, and Saget, to get the meat. Moranget, finding that they had boucanned it before it was sufficiently dry, flew into a passion, and took from them the marrow-bones and meat, which, according to custom, they had laid aside to roast, as perquisites. On this, Liotot, Hiens, and Duhaut drew off, and formed their plot. Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 157–197.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 197–8. Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 337; Hennepin in Voyages au Nord., v., p. 241) makes Moranget linger two hours, pardon his murderers, &c. The account given by the two Talons (Interrogations, &c.), supposed four killed. The Indian Nika, or Nikana, may have been the one given to La Salle by some Iroquois, north of Lake Erie, in 1669. Galinée, Ms.

1687-90. they resolved. After deliberating together on the means of success, they thought it the surest plan to go forward to meet him, murder all who opposed their design, and thus open a way for the parricide, which they meditated.[1]

So strange a resolution could be inspired only by that blind despair, which hurries criminals into the abyss they have dug for themselves; but an incident which they could not have foreseen, placed in their hands the victim they sought. A river, which divided them from the camp, and which had swollen considerably after their passing it, detained them two days; and this delay, which at first seemed an obstacle, facilitated the execution of their design. De la Sale, surprised at not seeing his nephew return, nor the two men who accompanied him, resolved to go himself to obtain some tidings. It was remarked that, at the moment when he started, he seemed troubled, and asked, with a kind of uneasiness unusual in him, whether Moranget had not had a misunderstanding with some one.[2]

He then called Joutel, committed the control of the camp to him, instructing him to make the rounds from time to time, not to let any one stray off, and to light fires, so that the smoke might serve to bring him to his true course, in case, on his way back, he should lose it. He set out on the 20th, with Father Anastasius and an Indian.[3] As he approached the spot where the assassins had halted, he perceived eagles flying quite near to it; this led him to think there was a carcass of some kind there, and he fired his gun. The conspirators, who had not perceived him, inferred that it was la Sale approaching, and prepared their arms.[4]

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 198.

[2] Joutel, p. 199, says he asked whether Liotot, Hiens, and Duhaut had not shown discontent.

[3] Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, Etablissement, de la Foi, ii., p. 338) says two Indians, and mentions the 20th as the date. Talon says only F. Anastasius.

[4] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 199–200. Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., pp. 338–9 Hennepin, p. 242) speaks of La Salle's pious conversation on the way, and of his sadness. He says that after going two leagues they found the bloody cravat of the lackey, saw the eagles, and perceived some of his people. He does not say he fired.

1687-90.

Tragic death of Mr. de la Sale.

The river was between them and him; Duhaut and Larchevêque crossed it, and, perceiving de la Sale advancing slowly, halted. Duhaut hid himself in the tall grass, with his gun loaded and cocked; Larchevêque advanced a little further, and, a moment after, de la Sale, recognizing him, asked him where his nephew Moranget was. He replied that he was along the river,[1] and that instant Duhaut fired. De la Sale received the ball in his head, and fell stark dead. So Joutel relates the fact.[2] He had learned it from Father Anastasius, who was present, and whose testimony cannot be suspected.

Father Louis Hennepin, who also cites his fellow-religious, but who is far less credible than Joutel, pretends that de la Sale lived an hour after he was wounded; that he made a kind of general confession to Father Anastasius, pardoned his murderers, and entered with a great deal of piety into all the other sentiments suggested to him by his confessor; that he received, with lively tokens of religion, absolution for his sins; and that he had approached the sacraments before setting out on his march.[3]

A manuscript relation, which I had in my hand, and which is preserved in the Depôt de la Marine,[4] and the author of which seems strongly prejudiced against Mr. de la Sale, in regard to whom he expresses himself in a very condemnatory style, agrees with Joutel as to the manner

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[1] The expression "à la dérive," literally "adrift," is explained by Joutel, p. 201, to mean "along the river." F. Anastasius says they pointed, and that La Salle was going in that direction, when two of them fired, one missing, the other striking him in the head. He says that La Salle died an hour after. He expected the same fate.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 201.

[3] Hennepin, in Voyages au Nord, v., p. 243. Charlevoix overlooks Father Anastasius's own account, as given in Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 335–341, and which is merely copied by Hennepin. F. Anastasius adds that, after La Salle expired, he wrapped him up, buried him as well as he could, placing a cross on his grave.

[4] This is a document, entitled "Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Talon, par ordre de Mr. le Comte de Ponchartrain, à leur arrivée de la Vera Cruz, le 14 September, 1698."

1687-90. in which he was killed; but it changes many circumstances in the account of the murder. Larchevêque is there styled d'Yvetot,[1] and perhaps bore both names; no mention is made of the German, Hiens, but of an English soldier, whom it calls Jemme, and of one Mûnier.[2] It adds that it was a servant of the Sieur d'Yvetot, of whom Mr. de la Sale asked where Moranget was, and that he, according to his master's orders, replied abruptly, with his hat on, that he was along the river; that la Sale, shocked at this insolent fashion of answer, threatened the servant, who replied still more insolently; that la Sale advanced to strike him; that the servant, as agreed upon among the assassins, started to run toward the spot where they were concealed; and that when de la Sale came within reach, they all fired together; but only one aimed well.

Be that as it may, such nearly was the tragical end of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Sale, a man of a capacity, grasp of mind, courage and firmness of soul, that might have raised him to some grand achievement, if, with all these good qualities, he could have mastered his sombre and melancholy disposition, curbed his severity, or rather the harshness of his temper, and repressed the haughtiness with which he treated, not only those who depended entirely on him, but even his associates, some of whom, as we are assured, especially two of his assassins, had advanced a great part of the funds for his enterprise, and consequently were deeply interested in it.[3]

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[1] These statements are not in my extract, which states that Duhaut and James killed their four companions, and lay in wait for La Salle; that Duhaut fired first, and killed him on the spot.

[2] Pierre Meusnier is mentioned as retiring to the Cenis, with Peter Talon, after the assassination. Larchevêque is mentioned in the 5th article as a young man, of Bayonne, apparently of a good family, and well educated. He was carried off by the Spaniards, with Groulê, a sailor.

[3] See Joutel's appreciation of his character (Journal Historique, p. 202), and Father Anastasius's, Le Clercq, ii., p. 339; Voyages au Nord, v., p. 244.

1687-90.

His character.

He has also been justly reproached with never taking counsel of any one, and having more than once ruined his affairs by an obstinacy that nothing could overcome or justify.[1] Some have declared that this happened in regard to the mouth of the Micissipi, which was pointed out to him, but which he would not even examine, because he had taken it into his head that it could not be at the position indicated.[1] He doubtless did not know or reflect that the foremost men in the world have often been indebted for their greatest success to persons far inferior to them in merit, and that those are wisest who believe that they can profit by the intelligence and advice of men less gifted than themselves.

Calumnies published against him.

Yet we must not credit all that has been published of his pretended violence, still less other more atrocious accusations, by which his enemies have sought to blacken him. Some have sought to diminish the horror of the crime committed on his person, by saying that he killed young Duhaut with his own hand, that he had similarly treated several others, and that the desire of avenging so much blood shed without any ground, and fear of a like fate, drove men, whom on every occasion he had treated brutally and forced to extremes, to the resolution of assassinating him.[2] Against such calumnious charges we should be well on our guard, as men are but too prone to exaggerate the faults of the unfortunate, and impute to them more than they really possessed, especially when they have contributed to their own ruin, and have failed to inspire attachment to their persons. The saddest circumstance of all in regard to the memory of this celebrated man is, that he was regretted by but few, and that the

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[1] His letter sent back by Beaujeu, cited in Thomassy, Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane, disposes of this.

[2] I do not know where these charges were made; not in Dumont, Memoires sur la Louisiane, La Page du Pratz, Lavalette Laudun, or Father Laval. They are in Bossu (Nouveaux Voyages, i., p. 101), but his work is posterior to Charlevoix, and here copies him almost literally.

1687-90. failure of his enterprises made him seem a mere adventurer to those who judge only by appearances. This, unfortunately, comprises the majority, and decides the public voice.

What occurred after his death. Meanwhile, Father Anastasius, having seen de la Sale fall at his feet, expected that the murderers would show him no mercy, if only to rid themselves of such a witness of their crime; but Duhaut, approaching, reassured him, declaring that the deed he had just committed was an act of despair, and that he had long harbored vengeance against Moranget, who had sought his ruin. At that moment his accomplices interrupted him, stripped the dead body to the very shirt, and, after insulting it with every indignity,[1] dragged it into some bushes, where they left it, unburied. There is no foundation for what Father Hennepin has written,[2] that Father Anastasius buried him, and planted a cross on his grave. Joutel does not mention it,[3] and we cannot but believe that that traveler, who enters into the greatest detail as to what occurred before his eyes, would not have omitted the circumstance; he himself, had the thing been possible, would not have failed to join Father Anastasius in rendering the last rites to a master whom he had always esteemed. The assassins, after thus giving the last stroke to their parricide, proceeded to the camp, to which they had already sent the fruit of their hunt by some Indians, who witnessed the affair, and were scandalized at what they beheld.

It was from Father Anastasius that Mr. Cavelier learned

[1] Liotot, especially, insulted it, calling out: "There you are, Grand Bashaw; there you are!" Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 203.

[2] Hennepin, Voyage à un Pays, &c.; Voyages au Nord, v., pp. 243–4.

[3] Joutel is not merely silent as to these points. He says, expressly: "Bien loin, comme dit un auteur, de l'avoir enterré, et mis une croix sur sa fosse." It is not right, however, to make Hennepin responsible in this case, as he follows Father Anastasius, who states it himself in his account, given in Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 341. Joutel was not in camp when the assassins came in, and could not have aided Anastasius.

his brother's death.[1] He at once told the conspirators that if it was their design to rid themselves of him also, he pardoned them his death beforehand, and that the only favor he asked was, that they would grant him a quarter of an hour to prepare to die. They replied that he had nothing to fear, and that no one complained of him.[2] Joutel was not then in the camp; Larchevêque, who was friendly toward him, started out, to warn him that his death was decided upon, if he showed the least resentment at what had happened, or pretended to exert the authority conferred upon him by de la Sale; but that if he held his peace, he (Larchevêque) would assure his life. 1687-90.

The assassins assume command.

Joutel, who was of a very mild disposition, replied that they should be well satisfied with his conduct; that he believed they all were pleased with the manner in which he had exercised command; and that he would be but too well pleased to have no part in it. They then returned to camp, and Duhaut, as soon as he saw Joutel, cried out to him that each one must command in turn. He had himself already seized all authority, and the first exercise of it was to take possession of all the stores, which he shared with Larchevêque, saying that all belonged to them. It is asserted that there was thirty thousand francs in goods, and twenty thousand in specie and silver-plate.[3] The parricides had strength and audacity on their side, and had

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[1] Joutel, p. 203. Father Anastasius says that he entered the cabin first, and that Cavelier, seeing him in tears, and the conduct of the men, who began plundering, cried out: "Ah! my brother is dead!" Le Clercq, ii., p. 343; Hennepin, p. 245. Talon (Interrogations, Ms.) says that, on entering, Duhaut told the Caveliers what he had done; that he had done it to avenge his brother's death; and that they could retire where they pleased, as he could no longer bear the sight of them.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 203–5. Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., pp. 343–4) says he and the Caveliers fell on their knees, and that the assassins were moved to spare them, on condition of their not returning to France; though some who wished to go back to France, were for killing them.

[3] I do not know where Charlevoix found this. Nothing of the kind appears in the papers of Cavelier, who states, however, that the family advanced most of the 300,000 livres that the expedition cost.

1687-90. shown themselves capable of the greatest crimes; hence, they met, at first, no resistance.

Joutel sent to the Cenis. (1687.)

The next day, May 21st,[1] all the French, with some Indians, set out for the Cenis village, which was not far distant; but the weather was so bad, and the road so difficult, that they were soon compelled to halt. On the 29th Joutel was detached, with the surgeon, Liotot, Hiens, and Tessier, to see whether they could not obtain some provisions from the Cenis. On the first day they perceived three well-mounted Indians—one dressed in Spanish style, who came to meet them. They at first took this one for a real Spaniard, more especially as they had heard say that some were coming to join the Cenis against another nation; and as they were much afraid of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, who were loth to see other Europeans in their vicinity, their first thought was to make away with this one, and then take flight at once.[2]

However, Joutel, going ahead, met him, and addressed him in Spanish and Italian. The Indian replied, in the Cenis language, that he did not understand[3] what he said, and this answer relieved him. The two other Indians were naked, and one of them had a fine gray mare, carrying two neat panniers, made of cane, and full of parched Indian-corn-meal. He presented some to the French, and added that his master was impatiently awaiting them. Joutel asked whether there were any Spaniards among them. They replied that there were none among them, but that there were some among a neighboring nation.[4]

The Indian dressed in Spanish garb added that he had been in their country, and had returned equipped as they

[1] Joutel, speaking of La Salle's death, says (p. 199) that it happened on the 20th; and, in another place (p. 201), he says, in the margin, that it happened the 19th, which agrees with most of the accounts. But it must be remembered that he did not himself print his work. *Charlevoix.* Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 340; Hennepin, p. 243) says the 19th; but Joutel seems accurate.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 202–210.

[3] "Coussica—I do not understand." Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 211.

[4] Among the Assonys. Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 212.

saw him. He then drew from his pocket a printed Spanish paper, containing the indulgences granted by the Holy See to the missionaries of New Mexico; after which, he and his two companions continued their route toward the camp; they, nevertheless, changed their minds afterward, and retraced their steps. The French called them back, and offered them food. Shortly after eating, as night had set in, the French did not wish to go any further, and the first Indian remained with them, the two others resuming their route to their village. 1687-90.

The French and their new guest went there in the morning, and proceeded directly to the chief's cabin; but they had scarcely appeared at the entrance of the village, when they perceived the old men coming in ceremony to meet them. They had across their shoulders, as belts, dressed deer-skins, painted various colors, and on their head a tuft of feathers, forming a kind of crown. Some wore square sword-blades, such as Spaniards use, with the hilt adorned with feathers and bells; others were armed with bows, arrows, and tomahawks. Some had great pieces of white cloth passing from one shoulder under the other; all had their faces daubed with black and red. Their reception.

These old men were twelve in number, and passed amid the young men and warriors, ranged in line, in good order. As soon as they were near enough to the French, the guide of the latter motioned to them to halt, and the old men at once raised their hands above their heads, uttering loud cries; they then ran up to embrace the French, and gave them, in their fashion, every kind of caress; next they presented them with pipes and tobacco, and at last brought them a Frenchman from Provence—one of those who had deserted from de la Sale on his first journey. He was naked, like the Indians, and could scarcely speak his own language. He seemed charmed to see men of his own country and acquaintance.

The French were conducted, with the escort just described, to the chief's cabin, where they were very well

1687-90. received. Thence they were led to a still larger cabin, a quarter of a league distant from the first, and set apart for public rejoicings. They found the floor spread with mats, on which they were made to sit down, the old men ranging themselves around. The Indians began by bringing them sagamity, and vegetables of all kinds; during the meal, and while each smoked his pipe, they conversed with them on some warlike projects.

The Provençal lived in another village, to which he took the French party, and there they were received nearly as they were in the first. Night coming on, their guide took them to his cabin, where they spent the night. The next day the old men of the first village came for them, and took them to the cabin where they had been feasted the day before. Here they obtained provisions in exchange for goods; but as there was not grain enough in the village for the wants of the French, Joutel sent his companions back to camp with the Provençal, and remained among the Cenis to get the rest of his supplies.

Another motive also induced him to remain some time among these people. Ascertaining that there were two more of la Sale's deserters among a neighboring nation, he hoped to derive more information from them than he had from the Provençal in regard to the Micissipi, and the route to be taken in order to reach the Illinois. He accordingly had these two men sent for, and one night, while he was lying in a cabin, but not asleep, he heard some one walking softly beside his bed; he looked, and, by the light of the fire in the lodge, perceived a man, perfectly naked, with a bow and two arrows, who, without a word, sat down beside him.[1]

He regarded him for some time, addressed him several questions, and received no answer. This silence excited his suspicion, and made him grasp his two pistols. Then the man rose, and sat down by the fire. Joutel followed,

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 214–6, 230–3.

and eyed him closely, when the pretended Indian fell on his neck, addressed him in French, and made himself known as one of the deserters whom he sought. Joutel asked him where his comrade was, and he replied that he had not ventured to come. They were both sailors; this one was a Breton, named Ruter; the other, Grollet, was from la Rochelle. 1687-90.

They had in a short time so completely adopted Indian habits, that they would never have been taken for Europeans. Not only were they naked, but they had their whole body painted and tattooed. They were married, and had several wives. The Cenis had taken them on their wars; and, as long as their powder lasted, they had won admiration by the effect of their muskets; but as soon as their ammunition failed, they were obliged to handle the bow and arrows. The loose life which they led had great attractions for them, and they had scarcely a sentiment of religion left.

Joutel gave Ruter an account of de la Sale's death and that of his nephew, Moranget, and he seemed touched. When asked whether he had not heard the Cenis speak of the Micissipi, he told Joutel that he had not: that he had only heard it said that there was a great river forty leagues to the northeast, the banks of which were densely peopled, and where they had seen men made and clothed like us. This river Joutel felt confident was that which he sought; and, as he had resolved to part company with la Sale's murderers as soon as possible, his only thought was to ascertain the route to be followed in order to reach that great river. Ruter returned home the next day, Joutel giving him wherewith to make some little presents to his wives, and begging him to persuade his comrade, Grollet, to come and see him.

On the 6th of April they both arrived in his cabin, equipped in the same manner, except that Grollet had not tattooed his face, nor consented to cut his hair in the Cenis fashion—a fashion odd enough, as it consisted in wearing

1687-90. the hair very short, excepting a tuft, which the Indians leave on the top of the head, or sometimes on the sides, and braid in a queue.

Grollet confirmed his comrade's statement to Joutel as to a large river to the northeast, on the banks of which, Europeans had been seen; and both offered to accompany him to the camp. He was charmed with this resolution; and, on the 8th, two Frenchmen having come to the Cenis with a horse to carry the provisions purchased by Joutel, all set out together, and arrived on the 10th.

La Sale's murderers part with the others.

During Joutel's absence, la Sale's murderers had messed apart, and formed the design of returning to St. Louis, in order to build a boat, and proceed to the West Indies. Nothing was more chimerical than this project. They lacked most of the tools necessary for this work, and not one of them had ever learned how to handle any. But it was the first effect of the vertigo with which God often punishes those who have filled up the cup of their iniquity. Yet, as He did not design to involve the innocent in the misfortune which His justice laid up for the guilty, He inspired the former with the design of separating from the latter; and, in fact, their only thought was to take up the route in the direction where they deemed the Illinois to be.[1]

Mr. Cavelier, who was at their head, having learned that Duhaut and his accomplices were preparing to send to the Cenis to buy horses to carry their baggage to St. Louis, went to him, and told him that he, with some others, whom he named, were too exhausted to undertake the march he contemplated; that it was their idea to remain for some time, at least, in the first Cenis village; and he begged Duhaut to make them a present of some axes, a little powder and ball, and to add what would enable them to buy provisions; that, if he wished, he might even set down the price he required, and that he would give him his note for it.

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 234-9.

Duhaut deferred his answer to the next day; and, after consulting with his band, he told Mr. Cavelier that he consented to give him half the stores that were left. He added that if he and his did not succeed in building a bark, they would return; and that he would do them a favor to accumulate provisions, at all hazards. A few days after, he changed his mind about returning to St. Louis, and proposed to his comrades to rejoin Mr. Cavelier, and proceed to the Illinois. Hiens and some others were not of this opinion, and demanded their share of the goods. 1687-90.

Duhaut raised objections; they quarreled; and, at last, Hiens drew his pistol, and shot Duhaut in the head. He staggered four paces from the spot where he was, and fell dead. At the same time, Ruter, the Breton sailor, whom Joutel had brought from the Cenis, and who had taken sides with Hiens, fired his musket at Liotot, the surgeon. That wretch, although he received three balls in his body, lingered some hours, and was so happy as to receive the sacrament of penance, after which the one who wounded him shot him dead with a pistol. Thus, the two who murdered de la Sale and his nephew, were the first victims of the spirit of madness which they had infused into that ill-starred colony.[1] Sad end of Duhaut and Liotot.

Joutel, who witnessed this massacre, at once seized his musket to defend himself, in case they sought his life as well; but Hiens called out to him not to be alarmed: that he had no object, except avenging the death of his patron; he added that although he had been in Duhaut's plot, he had not consented to his parricide, and would have prevented it had he been present. The Indians did not know

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 241–3. Father Anastasius, who is less detailed, says Duhaut was shot through the heart. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 346; Hennepin, p. 247. The death of Liotot he describes as terrible: After allowing one of the priests to give him the last rites, one of the assassins fired a cartridge at his head, which set fire to his hair and clothes, and thus he perished. Ibid. Pierre Talon represents Duhaut as killed by James, James by Ruter, Ruter by a surgeon, who fled to the Lohos, and was killed in war.

1687-90. what to think of these murders, which scandalized them greatly. They were right, and might more justly treat these Frenchmen as savages than we, by any right, could regard them as such.[1]

Still, as they were needed, Joutel gave them to understand that these two men deserved the treatment which they had just experienced, for having dipped their hands in the blood of their commanders, and violently seizing what did not belong to them; and this explanation seemed to satisfy them.[2] Larchevêque was not at the village while all this occurred; he had gone off early that very day to hunt, and Hiens was bent on treating him, on his return, as he had just done Duhaut; but Mr. Cavelier and Father Anastasius succeeded in dissuading, and Joutel went in search of Larchevêque, to warn him of the peril that he had been in. He then took him to Hiens, and these two men mutually pledged their word not to attempt anything against each other.[3]

Some of the French accompany the Cenis in war.

After this reconciliation, they again proceeded to deliberate on the course to be pursued; but Hiens declared that he had promised the Cenis to go to war with them, and that if they choose to wait among those Indians till his return, they would then see what was best to be done. Mr. Cavelier and his party were obliged to acquiesce in all that these madmen proposed, inasmuch as the property was not yet divided. They accordingly proceeded with them to the Cenis village; and, early in March, Hiens took the war-path with the Indians, together with six Frenchmen, all mounted.

Victory of the Cenis.

On the 18th, those who remained in the village were much surprised to see women enter their cabins early in the morning, all daubed with clay, and begin to dance around. This lasted three hours, after which the master of the cabin gave the dancers a piece of native tobacco,

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[1] Joutel, Journal pp. 246–7.

[2] Joutel says they only alleged taking the powder and ball (p. 248).

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 248; Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 346).

which resembled ours, except that the leaves were smaller. The French were then informed that the Cenis had won a complete victory, and the bearer of the intelligence averred that, for his part, he had killed about forty of the enemy. 1687-90.

The women at once began to prepare refreshments, in order to go and meet the victors, who reached the village in the afternoon of the same day. Their enemies, the Cannohatinnos, had awaited them resolutely; but the noise and effect of the French fire-arms so alarmed them, that they took flight after the first volley. The Cenis pursued them, and killed forty-eight men and women. Of their prisoners, they spared only two little boys, whom they brought to their village, with the scalps of the dead; all the rest were butchered on the spot, except two women, whose fate was still more deplorable.

Their cruelty.

One was sent home, but not till her scalp had been torn off; a charge of powder and ball was then put in her hand, and she was told to carry that present to her nation, and warn them that the Cenis would soon come to visit them again with that kind of arms. As for her companion, she was delivered to those of her own sex, who, armed with large pointed stakes, took her to a place apart, where there were none but women. There, these furies began their work: some by giving her a thrust with the point of the sticks; others dealing blows on her body with all the might of their arms. They then tore out her hair, and cut off her fingers: in one word, subjected her to all tortures that can be imagined, in order to avenge on her the death of their friends and kindred who had been killed on various occasions. At last, weary of tormenting her, they stabbed her to death. Her body was then cut into pieces, which they made the slaves eat.[1]

Their rejoicing.

The next day was set apart for rejoicing. The chief's cabin was well cleansed, then spread with mats, on which

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 249–256. The slaves were Cannohatinos, not captured then, but long previously taken.

1687-90. the sachems and the French were seated. When each one had taken his place, an orator rose, and made quite a long speech, apparently in praise of the warriors, and the great service which their new allies had just rendered the nation. Then a woman appeared, holding a long reed in her hand; the warriors followed her, each, according to his rank, carrying a bow and two arrows in his hand, preceded by their wives, who bore the scalps their husbands had brought back. The two young prisoners, whose lives were spared, closed the line; and, as one of them had been wounded, he rode on horseback.

As these warriors passed before the orator, they took the scalps from the hands of their wives, and presented them to him. He received them with both hands, turned them toward the four cardinal parts, and laid them on the ground. After the procession, great platters of sagamity were served up; and, before any one touched it, the orator took some in a large wooden bowl, and presented it as an offering to the scalps; then he lighted a pipe of tobacco, and blew some of the smoke on the same scalps. This done, the banquet began. Besides the sagamity, they served up the tongues of the enemy who had been killed; some of the flesh of the woman, whose torture has been described, was brought to the two young prisoners, and they were forced to eat it. The whole terminated with songs and dances, and the ceremonies were then renewed in other cabins.

Course pursued by the French.

After this expedition, there being nothing to detain the French among the Cenis, they assembled to take their final resolve.

Hiens began, at first, by declaring that he did not approve the project of endeavoring to find the Illinois; that he foresaw insurmountable difficulties; and that, moreover, he did not wish to return to France, to lay his head on the scaffold. The last argument was unanswerable; but, as it was the only one that had really induced Hiens to take the desperate course which he followed, those who

did not feel guilty persisted in the project of pushing on to the Illinois, and that very day began to prepare in earnest for their departure. 1687-90.

The Indians had greatly exaggerated to Joutel the dangers to which he exposed himself by traversing so vast an extent of country, where he could not avoid meeting many unknown nations, nor expect a friendly reception. They used every argument to induce him and his party to remain with them, but they did not prevail. He begged them to furnish him guides, to whom he promised a large reward, and these they cheerfully afforded him. Hiens gave Joutel all he asked; but the latter knew well that he must not ask much. This ruffian retained possession of almost all de la Sale's effects, and had donned his gold-laced scarlet coat; but, before giving any thing, he exacted of Mr. Cavelier an attestation, written in Latin, and signed by his hand,[1] exonerating him from all suspicion of complicity in his brother's murder; and it is, perhaps, solely on the faith of this document that some have published that he really took no part in that crime.[2]

Those who took up their march for the Illinois were seven in number, namely: Messrs. Cavelier, uncle and nephew; Father Anastasius; the Sieurs Joutel and de Marle; a young Parisian, named Barthelemy; and the pilot Teissier.[3] Larchevêque, Mûnier, and Ruter, had pledged their word to join the party; but a spirit of libertinage retained them among the Cenis; and, to all appearance, the same fear that seized Heins made an impression on Larchevêque, still more guilty than he.[3] We shall see in the sequel what became of these men, after we have followed the first party to France. Some go to the Illinois.

I shall not stop to describe their journey in detail. Joutel has made a very circumstantial journal, which contains nothing very interesting for our purpose. The only They arrive among the Akansas.

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 256–263.

[2] I do not find this stated.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 263. Father Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 347) says they were only six.

1687-90. untoward accident which befell them in their long and toilsome march, was the loss of the Sieur de Marle—according to Joutel, a very worthy man—who was drowned on the 24th of June, while bathing in a river.[1] On the 20th of July[2] they arrived among the Akansas, where they found two Frenchmen: one, named Delaunay; the other, a carpenter, called Couture.[3]

It was a great joy for the travelers to find themselves so near the Micissipi and in a known country. The two Frenchmen had been sent to the Akansas by the Chevalier Tonti on his return from a voyage, which he had made in person to the mouth of the river, where de la Sale had proposed to meet him. They had begun a house, and seemed resolved to settle there, having lost all hopes of receiving any tidings of de la Sale. Mr. Cavelier informed them of his tragical end; but it was agreed among them to say nothing about it to the Indians, who had been held in awe by the mere name of the deceased, and from

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[1] Joutel, Journal, p. 276; Anastasius, Le Clercq, ii., p. 351. They passed from the Cenis to the Nahoudikhé, the Assonis, or Nassonis (25 leagues E. N. E.), where, says F. Anastasius, they spent the octave of Corpus Christi (June 5). Joutel says they left June 13, and went N. E., or N. N. E., across four large rivers, with the Haqui Indians on the E., Nabiri (or Nahiri) and Naansi apparently on the W. On the 22d they heard of the Kappas, whom Cavelier recognized as a tribe met by his brother on the Mississippi. (Joutel, p. 270.) On the 23d they reached the Cadodacchos (Le Clercq, ii., p. 349), forty leagues from Nassonis (ib., p. 360), whom Joutel mentions (Cadodaquio) as one of four allies, the others being the Assony, Natsohos, and Natchitos (p. 278; or, according to Anastasius (p. 352), Natchoos (Natchez, in V. au Nord, v., p. 251), Natchites, and Ouidiches, the last name probably more correct than Assony, in Joutel. Then marching twenty-five leagues E. N. E., they reached, on the 6th July, the Cahaynohoua, or Cahainihoua (the Cahinnio of Anastasius). At last, proceeding sixty leagues further E. N. E., they came to the Ossotteoez, or Otsotchoué, an Arkansas tribe, and, to their intense joy, descried a cross, and fell on their knees to thank God. (Joutel, p. pp. 298–9; Anastasius, Le Clercq, ii., p. 356.) For the death of the Sieur de Marle, see Voyages au Nord, v., p. 250.

[2] This date seems correct. Compare Joutel, pp. 297–8.

[3] Both were of Rouen. Joutel, Journal, p. 298; Tonty, Memoir, Louisiana Historical Coll., p. 71.

whom they still wished to obtain provisions, canoes, and guides.[1] 1687–90.

Mr. Cavelier then begged Couture to go to some of the chiefs, and give them to understand[2] that de la Sale had formed a very fine settlement on the Gulf of Mexico; that those who had just given him this welcome intelligence intended to proceed to Canada for goods; that they would soon return, with a great number of Frenchmen, to settle in their country, in order to defend them against their enemies, and afford them all the benefits of regular commerce; that, in order to reach the Illinois, they hoped to obtain from them the same aid that they had received from all the nations whom they had met on the way. The Akansas assembled to deliberate on these propositions, and meanwhile regaled their new guests with the best they had, and smoked the calumet with them. They nevertheless hesitated to furnish them guides for so long a voyage; but promises and presents succeeded. The young Parisian, who was unable to walk any further, remained among the Akansas, and Couture, for a time, accompanied the others. They set out the 27th; descended the river of the Akansas; and the same day reached a village, called Toriman, where, for the first time, they saw the Micissipi. The crossed it on the 29th, and the same day reached the village of the Kappas,[3] where Couture took leave of them.

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[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 300–1. F. Anastasius, Le Clercq, ii., pp. 356–7.

[2] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 309.

[3] Joutel says in his Journal, that this village is the last of the Arkansas; but it appears from Garcilasso de la Vega's History of the Conquest of Florida, that the Kappas, in the time of Ferdinand de Soto, were a separate and very numerous nation. None now remain: at least, in Louisiana. *Charlevoix.* See Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 309–315. They reached the Kappas on the 30th. (Ib.) As the Quapaws still exist, it is not easy to see how Charlevoix overlooked them in his time. They now alone represent the Arkansas: the Toriman, Toginga, &c., having disappeared. They had been on the Ohio (Gravier, Journal, p. 10), and were driven down the Mississippi by the Illinois, who long called the Ohio the river of the

1687–90. On the 3d of September they entered the river of the Illinois,[1] and on the 14th[2] reached Fort St. Louis, where the Sieur de Bellefontaine held command, in the absence of the Chevalier de Tonti, who had gone to join the Marquis de Dénonville in the war against the Senecas.[3] Every one eagerly asked for news of de la Sale, and they replied that they had left him forty leagues from the Cenis. They did not deem it well to be more explicit, as they wished to proceed to Canada as soon as possible; needed assistance to make that journey, rendered difficult and dangerous, since war had been declared against the Iroquois; and feared that this assistance would be refused, if information were given of de la Sale's death.

They reach Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, and make the French, whom they meet, believe that Mr. de la Sale is full of life.

Happily for them, the Sieur de Boisrondet, his agent, was preparing for that voyage; and the meeting was equally agreeable to both. They embarked on the 18th, but they did not go far; bad weather compelled them to return to the fort, from which they had started. This accident disconcerted them all the more, as it deprived them of all hope of passing over to France that year, and sending assistance to such of their people as had remained at the settlement of St. Louis, near St. Bernard's Bay; but they had to be patient.[4]

They are obliged to winter in the fort.

On the 27th of October, Mr. de Tonti arrived at Fort St. Louis.[5] Mr. Cavelier deemed it necessary not to be

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Akansas, or Alkansas. (Ib.; compare Hennepin, Voy. au Nord, v., p. 257.) This agrees with Heckewelder, and identifies his Talligewi, or Allegewi, of the Delawares, with the Arkansas. (Heckewelder, Account of the Indian Nations, pp. 29–30.) The name, whether Akansas, Alkansas, Arkansas, Allegewi, or Tallegewi, is evidently the Algonquin name for the nation, not their own.

[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 326. F. Anastasius (Le Clercq, ii., p. 366) says the 5th, and makes a long attack on Marquette and Joliet.

[2] Joutel, p. 329, says precisely Sunday, Sept. 14, 2 P. M.; Anastasius, in Le Clercq, ii., 367; Hennepin, Voy. au Nord, v., p. 258.

[3] Tonty, Memoir, in Margry, Relations, &c.; Louisiana H. C., i.. pp. 69–70.

[4] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 331–5.

[5] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 346; Tonty, Memoir, in Margry, and in L. H. Coll., i., p. 70. His memoir, as given in Voy. au Nord, v., p. 150, makes him return to his fort at the end of May.

more frank with him than he had been with the others in regard to de la Sale's death; and, as he had taken the precaution to obtain from his brother, before his death, a letter of credit, to receive in the Illinois a sum of money, or its value in peltries, Tonti did not hesitate to give him goods to the value of four thousand francs. Our travelers, at last, left the Illinois on the 21st of March, 1688, with Boisrondet, and Father Allouez,[1] who, finding no opening to plant a permanent mission among those Indians, was returning to St. Joseph's River, where he died soon after, among the Miamis.[2] 1687-90.

On the 10th of May they arrived at Michillimakinac,[3] where they made but a short stay; and, on the 14th of July, Mr. Cavelier landed at Montreal, where his party, whom he had left at Lachine, joined him on the 17th.[4] There they met Messrs. de Dénonville and de Champigny, whom they informed that they were obliged to pass over to France as soon as possible, in order to send aid to Mr. de la Sale, and those gentlemen believed them on their word. A few days after, Teissier, who was a Calvinist, made his abjuration in the parish church of Montreal; all then embarked for Quebec.[5] There they did not long await a vessel; they landed at la Rochelle on the 5th of October, and on the 7th, Messrs. Cavelier and Joutel set out for Rouen,[6] where I saw and conversed at length with this latter, in 1723. They pass over to France.

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[1] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 333–350.

[2] For La Salle's hostility to Allouez, see letter of La Salle, in 1680. (Thomassy, Géologie Pratique de la Louisiane, pp. 199–204.) Allouez died at Fort St. Joseph in 1690. He had come to Canada in 1658, and after laboring at Three Rivers and Montreal, went west, in 1665, and continued in that field till his death.

[3] Joutel, Journal Historique, p. 355. La Hontan (i., p. 114) mentions their arrival at Fort St. Joseph, April 6, 1688, and their concealment of La Salle's death.

[4] Joutel, Journal Historique, pp. 359–60.

[5] They reached Quebec, July 27. Le Clercq, ii., 377; Hennepin, in Voy. au Nord, v., p. 261, or 29th, Joutel (pp. 360–1); embarked for France, August 20–1. (Ib.)

[6] Joutel says he reached Rochelle, Saturday, October 9, 1688; and a memoir of M. Plet, one of the heirs of La Salle, says the same of Cavelier, who reached Quebec, July 27.

1687–90. In all probability, had these gentlemen not been obliged to winter among the Illinois, but reached France a year sooner, measures might have been taken to relieve or withdraw the little colony left by Mr. de la Sale at St. Louis, among the Clamcoets; but when they reached Paris, they felt that it was too late to think of it; and, had they thought of it sooner, it would have been bootless. The Clamcoets were not long in learning the death of the leader of the French, and the dispersion of his party; and, at a time, when the settlers at St. Louis least suspected it, they fell upon and massacred them all, except the three sons of Talon, their sister, and a Parisian, of good family, Eustace de Breman, whom they carried off to their village.[1]

What became of the settlement of St. Louis.

An Italian, who had traveled from Canada, by land, to join de la Sale, and who undoubtedly would have been of great service to him, by informing him of the route he should take to reach the Micissipi, had he reached that leader in season, also saved his life by quite a curious stratagem: As some Indians were preparing to kill him, he told them that they would do a great wrong to kill a man who bore them all in his heart. These words astonished the savages, and the Italian assured them that, if they would give him till next day, he would convince them of the truth of his assertion; adding, that, if he deceived them, they might do with him as they chose. Without any difficulty he obtained the delay he sought; and, having adjusted a little mirror on his breast, he went

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and left it, Aug. 30. (Plet, Memoire pour les enfants et heritiers du Sieur F. Plet, Ms.) Cavelier kept up his concealment of La Salle's death. (Denonville, in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 443.) Even in France, he concealed it from the family and creditors of La Salle for two years, and retiring to Rouen, to the house of Madame Fortin, a Cavelier, died there.

[1] Interrogations faites à Pierre et Jean Talon, par ordre de M. le Comte de Pontchartrain, à leur arrivée de Vera Cruz, 14 Sept., 1698, Ms., Art. 5; Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico para la historia de la Florida, p. 295; Morfi, Memorias para la historia de Texas, Ms., Lib. 3, p. 42. As already remarked, he identifies the Clamcoets with the Carancaguaces. (P. 45.)

to the Indians, who were much surprised to see themselves, as they supposed, in the heart of this man, and they spared his life.[1]

Various adventures of some Frenchmen

On the other hand, the Spaniards of New Mexico, greatly alarmed by de la Sale's expedition, resolved to leave nothing undone to defeat it. They, at first, sent five hundred men, who, on arriving among the Cenis, found Larchêveque and the Rochelle sailor, Grollet, whom they took prisoners.[2] It is not known whether these two men told them of de la Sale's death;[3] but it is certain that some time after, another party, of two hundred Spaniards, arrived at the same place, meeting, on the way, Mûnier, and Peter Talon, brother of those just mentioned, and took them to the Cenis village, where they were tolerably

[1] This story looks apocryphal, and is, I think, older.

[2] According to Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia de la Florida, p. 287, Raphael Huitz, an Englishman, and a prisoner at Havana, in 1688, assured the Governor that the French had made a settlement on the Gulf of Mexico, which he had visited, and described. On this, a frigate was sent to Vera Cruz, to inform the Viceroy, the Count de Monclova. After examining the man, he sent Don Andres de Pes in a frigate and an 18-oared felucca to explore. They left Vera Cruz, March 25, 1688, and soon reached Mobile; here the frigate was safely laid up, and the felucca, with twenty-five men and the Englishman, coasted along six days, till they reached the Paliçada, or Mississippi, and seem to have run up thirty leagues. Finding nothing, the Englishman was put in irons, but subsequently tried as a pirate, and sent to the galleys. Barcia refers to the description made by John Henry Barroto, the pilot. On the 18th of September, Monclova, and Count Galves, who had come to replace him, were informed, from New Leon, of the discovery of three Frenchmen, who attested La Salle's shipwreck and ruin. Don Alonzo de Leon, Governor of Coahuila, was then sent (Barcia, 287–8); and, in January, 1689, set out from Coahuila, accompanied by Father Damian, says Morfi (p. 54) reached Fort St. Louis, April 25, and found three dead bodies among the ruins (Carta, in Smith, Coleccion de Documentos, p. 25; Barcia, pp. 294–5). They learned that the massacre took place three months before, after the French lost one hundred by small-pox. (Carta, May 18, 1689.) James Grollet, and John Larchevêque, of Bordeaux, two of five who were among the Indians, gave themselves up (Ib., 295), and were taken to Spain, where it was decided to fortify Pensacola. Then, in 1692, Pes, with Grollet and Larchevêque, explored the coast from Pensacola to the Mississippi, which they reached May 5. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 307; see Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 208. Charlevoix follows Talon.

[3] It is evident, from Talon and Barcia, that they did.

1687-90. well treated. With the force were some Franciscan friars, who wished to settle among these Indians. Seeing that the two Frenchmen, who understood the language of the country, might be of great assistance to these new missionaries, they thought it a duty to induce them, by mildness, to remain with those Fathers.[1]

This kind treatment induced Talon to tell them that his three brothers and a sister were slaves among the Clamcoets; and a detachment was at once sent off for them, but the detachment could only bring the two Talons, their sister, and the Italian—the Clamcoets, who had taken a liking for them, being very loth to give them up. The next year, two hundred and fifty Spaniards returned to the same village, and drew from it John Baptist Talon and Eustace de Breman; and, at first, led them to St. Louis de Potosi, a city in New Mexico, and thence to Mexico, with the two other Talons and their sister; and the Viceroy took them all into his service.[2]

Larchevêque and Grollet had, at first, been sent to Spain, where they were compelled to re-embark for Mexico some time after. There, they were put into prison, awaiting an occasion to send them to New Mexico, apparently to work in the mines. The Italian was transported to Vera Cruz, where he was confined in prison; and it is very probable that he, too, left: only to be sent to the mines. We are not informed what became of Eustace de Breman. He was, perhaps on account of his youth, treated like the Talons; for it is supposed that the reason why these were better treated than the rest was, that they

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[1] Talon, Interrogations, Ms. Barcia does not mention this second expedition, or the Talons; but Morfi says that Domingo Teran de los Rios, Governor of Coahuila, set out from Monclova, May 16, 1691, with fifteen religious, and ten soldiers; but the soldiers, finding winter too severe, insisted on returning. This party recovered the Talons. Leon merely heard of other Frenchmen beyond the Texas. Smith, Coleccion, p. 26.

[2] Talon, Interrogations, Art. 5. Iberville's note, dated 1704, says that all the surviving French were rescued from the Indians by Don Francisco Martine, who commanded the last two parties.

were of an age when they could not have acquired any knowledge of the country, while the others were men grown, who might escape, and give intelligence in France of what they had observed in their various journeys. 1687-90.

At the end of eight years, the three eldest of the Talons, being of an age to bear arms, were enrolled in the Armadilla, and shipped on the Christo, which was the Vice-Admiral. This ship was taken in 1696 by the Chevalier des Augiers; and the three brothers, having thus recovered their liberty, returned to France; and it was from them that all the circumstances, just related, were learned. It was, subsequently, ascertained, that the Viceroy of Mexico, who had retained near himself their youngest brother and their sister, having been relieved, took them both to Spain with him.[1]

What defeated La Sale's enterprise.

Such was the disastrous result of an enterprise, which many circumstances contributed to defeat. It would, apparently, have had, at least, a portion of the success expected from it, had there been in view only a settlement at the mouth of the Micissipi, as many people were persuaded; for it is certain that de la Sale, seeing himself cast ashore in St. Bernard's Bay, and ere long convinced that he was west of the river he sought, might—had he no design but to find it—at the time of his first journey to the Cenis, have obtained guides from those Indians, since, in the sequel, they gave guides to Joutel; but he was desirous of approaching the Spaniards, to obtain information in regard to the mines of Santa Barbara; and, in endeavoring to do too much, he not only did nothing at all, but ruined himself, and was lamented by none.[2]

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[1] Talon, Interrogations, Ms.

[2] This idea of Charlevoix is upheld by Hennepin, in his Nouvelle Decouverte; but, in La Salle's actual position, seems wild, as he had no force to cope with the feeblest Spanish settlement. In fact, his course, after his shipwreck, shows him to have been, as an explorer, of the utmost incapacity. In descending the Mississippi, he merely followed the current a short distance beyond Marquette and Joliet's limit. Left to his own resources, he showed no energy, skill, or judgment. After discovering the Cenis, he should

1687-90. When it was seen what defeated his enterprise, nothing was easier than to profit by his faults to carry out the really solid part of his project: that is to say, to secure the whole course of the Micissipi; as it was of very great importance for us to have a settlement in that part of Florida, were it only to give us a cruising station in the Gulf of Mexico, and to strengthen the frontiers of New France in the direction of the English colonies. It was even as much to the interest of the Spaniards as of ourselves to put this barrier beyond insult, as they might well have foreseen that the English, masters of one part of ancient French Florida, to which they had given the name of Carolina, would not halt there; but, step by step, would push their settlements down to St. Augustine, as has really happened by the settlement of New Georgia; that thence to the Micissipi, nothing could long stop them; that it would then be easy for them to cross that great river, and give them much trouble in Old and New Mexico; whereas, if they found the French on the banks of the Micissipi, the jealousy of these two nations, naturally incompatible, would insure their safety.

Reflections on Mr. de la Sale's conduct.

But men's minds in France were still so preoccupied with the mines of Santa Barbara, that they long obstinately clung to the desire of realizing la Sale's chimera. They even flattered themselves, soon after his death, that they had succeeded by an intrigue, set on foot with the Count de Piñalossa. This resource failing—apparently because the Count raised his pretensions too high, and because there was no security on either side—the charm, it seems, vanished. Philip V. had ascended the Spanish throne, so

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have sent some on, to find the Missisippi, as they would easily have done, and then brought up all his men from Fort St. Louis; but it is evident that he sent out no explorers, only went on, in a sort of grand heroic way, with no fixed purpose. To me, he seems a man prodigiously overrated; and that to actual incapacity, all his misfortunes are properly to be ascribed. He was, doubtless, a persuasive and alluring talker in setting forth his projects, though utterly incapable of carrying out even the simplest.

that the court of France would not have permitted the Spaniards in America to be molested; but, after the death of Louis XIV., the plan proposed in the Council of the Regency, namely, to plant a strong colony in Louisiana, enabled some adventurers to profit by the disagreements that ensued between the courts of France and Spain, and revive the project of the Sieur de la Sale. On the faith of some apocryphal relations,[1] they indulged the hope of soon pouring into the kingdom, treasures which never existed, except in the heated imaginations of some men; and this new enchantment produced still more deplorable results[2] than those we have just seen. We shall have occasion to speak of them in the course of this history, of which it is time we resumed the thread. 1687-90.

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[1] Alluding, apparently, to Sagean. See Extrait de la Relation des Avantures et Voyages de Mathieu Sagean, New York, 1863, printed in an abridged form in the Mercure Galant, November, 1711. Historical Magazine, iv., 198; x., pp. 61–5.

[2] This, of course, alludes to Law's Mississippi project.

Besides the references already given, the reader may, in relation to Rutel, the sailor, and his son, see Bossu, p. 125.

BOOK XIV.

BOOK XIV

1690.

In the position in which the Count de Frontenac found the affairs of New France on his resumption of the General Government, we have seen, at the close of Book XII, how important it was to give the English employment at home, and restore the reputation of the French arms in the minds of the Indians. It was the sole means of humbling the insolence of the Iroquois, and making them more tractable, by showing them that they must not rely so much on the assistance of the Governor of New York. In this way, our allies, seeing us change an ill-managed defensive to a vigorous offensive, could not but resume their former sentiments of esteem for our nation; or, at least, apprehend that their new alliance with our enemies would entail upon them, at our hands, the very woes that they sought to avoid by abandoning our interest, and thus bind them to us more closely than ever.

Frontenac's project and preparations.

The Count de Frontenac, having formed his plan on this principle, began by notifying de la Durantaye, who still commanded at Michillimakinac, that he could assure the Hurons and Ottawas that they should shortly see a great change in affairs. He was, at the same time, preparing a large convoy to reinforce that post, and taking steps to raise three corps,[1] which were to enter the English territory by three different routes. The first was formed at Montreal, and was to be composed of one hundred and ten men,[2] French and Indians, commanded by Lieutenants d'Aille-

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[1] Canada Doc. II., v., p. 81.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., 1689–90. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 466, says two hundred and ten, eighty Iroquois, sixteen Algonquins, the rest French; and Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., pp. 387–8, also says two hundred and ten.

1690. bout de Mantet[1] and le Moyne de Sainte Helène, under whom Messrs. de Repentigny,[2] d'Iberville, de Bonrepos, de la Brosse, and de Montigni, desired to serve as volunteers.

This party was soon ready, and took the field[3] before it had deliberated in which direction to turn its arms. It was intended, generally, for New York; but the Count de Frontenac had left to the two commandants the choice of the post which they were to attack, and they deemed it advisable to announce nothing till they had nearly entered the enemy's territory. It was, accordingly, only after four or five days' march that they held a council as to what was to be done: the French inclined to march straight on Orange (Albany), but the Indians rejected the proposal totally, and one of them asked, since when they had grown so bold.

The reply was, that if the French had shown any weakness in the past, they wished to redeem it by taking Orange, or perish in the attempt; but that he erred, in attributing to cowardice the course pursued by the French the last few years; that desire for peace had alone induced them to remain in that inaction, which had given our allies occasion to insult us, only because they failed to penetrate the motive; and that if they had received some checks, it was because they had relied too implicitly on the good faith of the English and the Iroquois; but that he should see that the French had never lacked courage.

Expedition against Schenectady.

The Indians, aware of all the difficulties attending an attack on Albany, persisted in their opposition, and the council broke up, without coming to any decision. They continued their march till they reached a spot where two

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[1] Nicholas d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Manteht, the fifth son of Charles d'Ailleboust, Sieur des Musseaux, was born in 1663 (Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 207), and was killed in Hudson's Bay, in 1709. Charlevoix, Hist. de la N. F., ii., p. 340.

[2] Repentigny de Montesson. N.Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 466. De la Potherie calls him by the latter name. Hist. de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 68.

[3] The party started, from Montreal, early in February. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 466; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 387.

roads met: one leading to Albany, the other to Schenectady (Corlar); then Mantet, who despaired of changing the opinion of his allies, proposed to attack Schenectady, and they agreed. They at once took the road leading to that town, and for nine days the force had much to suffer. All were on foot, sometimes knee-deep in water; often, indeed, they had to break the ice to find a place to step; and, moreover, the cold was intense.[1] 1690.

One afternoon,[2] about four o'clock, our braves arrived within two leagues of Schenectady; here the Great Mohawk, chief of the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis,[3] harangued them with great eloquence, speaking with an authority acquired, not only over the Indians, but even over the French, by his great services to the colony, actions of admirable conception and heroic valor, eminent virtue, and untiring zeal for religion. He exhorted them all to forget past hardships in the hope of avenging the evils suffered the last few years, on the perfidious English, who were the main authors of all. They could not, he added, doubt of Heaven's assistance against the enemies of God, and in so just a cause.

They had scarcely resumed their march, when they fell in with four Indian women, who gave them all the information required to approach the place securely. Giguière, a Canadian, was detached at once, with nine Indians, on a scout, and discharged his duty perfectly. Unperceived, he

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 463–7; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 388.

[2] Saturday, February 8, O. S.; Schuyler, in Smith's History of New York, 4°, p. 66; N. Y. Documentary History, i., p. 191; Colden's History of the Five Nations (London Edition), p. 114; Mather's Magnalia, Book vii., p. 68.

[3] The Iroquois of this village had remained at La Prairie de la Magdeleine till the Massacre of Lachine.* After that check, they retired to Montreal, where they remained sometime.† At last, a little before the departure of this party, they settled opposite Sault St. Louis. (*Charlevoix.*) * This is wrong. They left La Prairie in 1676, and settled at Portage River, near the present cross of Catharine Tehgahkwita. Relation, 1676. Here they remained till after 1683. †N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 438, 441.

1690. reconnoitered Schenectady, leisurely, and returned to the force, which was only a league distant. It was at first proposed to defer the attack till morning; but the excessive cold changed their plan. They resolved to march at once, and attack on arriving.[1]

Schenectady was almost rectangular in form, and was entered by two gates: one leading to Albany (Orange), which was only six leagues off; the other opening on the main road, where our men were. The order of attack was thus arranged: Mantet and Sainte Helène took charge of the second gate, which the Indian women had assured them was never closed, and which they, in fact, found open. D'Iberville and Repentigny moved to the left, to take possession of the first gate; but they could not find it, and rejoined Mantet: so that there was only one attack.

The place surprised and carried.

The gate selected for assault was not only open, but totally unguarded;[2] and, as it was night, the whole party entered, unperceived by any of the inhabitants.[3] The two commandants at first separated, in order to reconnoitre all points at once; and, as they had enjoined strict silence, they met again at the other end of the town, without any movement being perceived. Then a yell was raised in Indian style, and each one struck where he was. Mantet attacked a kind of fort, where he found the garrison in arms. Here the resistance was quite vigorous; but the door was at last forced, the English all put to the sword, and the fort reduced to ashes.[4] Few houses in the town

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 467; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 388. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Am. Sept., iii., 67, begins here abruptly; omitting, evidently, part.

[2] Entry in Mortgage Book B, Albany; N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., p. 188; Colden, History of the Five Nations (London Edition), p. 115; Smith's History of New York, 4°, p. 66, citing Col. Schuyler's letter, Feb. 15, 1689–90.

[3] They arrived at 11 P. M., in sight of the town, after twenty-three days' march. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 388–9; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 467; Schuyler says on Feb. 8, O. S., after twenty-two days' march.

[4] De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 467; De la Potherie, iii., pp. 68–9.

were defended. Montigni alone was stopped at one; and, as he persisted in endeavoring to enter, received in the arm and body two blows with a partisan, which put him *hors de combat;* but Sainte Helène coming up, the door was forced, and Montigni's wounds avenged by the death of all who were shut up in the house.[1] 1690.

It was soon only massacre and pillage; but, after two hours, the leaders thought it necessary to place guards at all the avenues to prevent surprise, and the rest of the night was spent in refreshing themselves. Mantet had given orders to spare the minister, whom he wished to take prisoner; but he was killed without being recognized, and all his papers were burned.[2] Coudre,[3] Mayor of the place, escaped across the river, and seemed preparing to entrench himself with his servants, some soldiers, and Indians, who had followed him. The Commandant sent to summon him at day-break; and as they did not wish to injure him, because he had, on several occasions, acted very humanely to the French, d'Iberville and the Great Mohawk undertook to summon him. They not only promised him quarter, but also assured him that they would touch nothing belonging to him. On this pledge he laid down his arms, followed the two deputies to Schenectady, after treating them hospitably; and they strictly adhered to all they had promised.[4]

One of the first cares of the chiefs, when they saw them-

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[1] Narrative of Occurrences, 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 468; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., pp. 89–90.

[2] Narrative of Occurrences, 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 468; De la Potherie, iii., p. 69. This clergyman was Rev. Peter Tassemaker, a native of Holland. He had previously been at Kingston, and Newcastle, Del. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 468.

[3] John Sanders Glen. O'Callaghan, in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 468 (note); Schuyler, in Smith, p. 67. De la Potherie, iii., p. 69, writes "Cendre," which the copyist of the French documents wrote *Condre*, and Charlevoix's printer transformed into "Coudre."

[4] Narrative of Occurrences, 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 468; Frontenac, Canada Doc., II., v., p. 82; De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 69; N. Y. Doc. History, i., p. 191; Colden's Hist. Five Nations, p. 115.

1690. selves complete masters, was to stave in the barrels of liquor, for fear the Indians should become intoxicated. The houses were then set on fire, only the Mayor's being spared, with that of a widow, to which Montigni had been carried. There were about forty, all well built, and well furnished; and no plunder was taken, except what could be readily carried away. Life was granted to sixty, chiefly women, children, and old men, who had escaped the first fury of the assailants, as well as to thirty Iroquois, who were recognized: the object being, to show the cantons that the French struck only at the English, whose loss was estimated at 400,000 livres.[1]

They were too near Albany to remain long in the ruined town. The army decamped about noon. The booty; Montigni, who had to be carried; the prisoners, to the number of forty; and, after a time, want of provisions—as they had neglected to provide sufficiently,—greatly retarded the march homeward. Several even would have starved to death, had they not had fifty horses, of which only six were alive when the victors reached Montreal on the 27th of March. This dearth of food had even compelled them to scatter. Some were attacked; three Indians and sixteen Frenchmen were killed or taken; so that want of forecast cost this party much more dearly than the attack on Schenectady, where they lost only one Frenchman and one Indian.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 69; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 69–70. La Hontan gives a short account of this expedition. Voyages i., p. 204; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., 389–90. He says they spared ninety; the Narrative, between fifty and sixty. The "List of ye people kild and destroyed, ye 9th day of February, $16\frac{89}{90}$," makes sixty killed, including a French girl, prisoner, and a Mohawk; those carried off, twenty-seven. N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., pp. 190–1. Colden's History of the Five Nations, London ed., p. 115, says sixty-three killed, twenty-one carried off.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 468; Canada Doc., II., v., p. 82. Charlevoix is careless in his figures. The narrative says thirty persons, and makes sixteen horses get through. The English sent one hundred and forty Mohawks and Mohegans, under Lawrence, in pursuit. N. Y. Documentary History, i., p. 191. Leisler, in a letter to the Bishop of

1690.

In the minds of the Indians this expedition fully restored the reputation of the French arms; but the joy it produced in the colony was soon dashed by one of those accidents, not to be foreseen, which deprived us of the very man, in all the world, whom it was most vitally important for us to preserve, situated as we were, and which tended to array our most faithful allies in arms against each other, at the time when we had most need of uniting them all against our enemies. Thus it happened:

Effect produced by this conquest.

Lieutenant Tilly de Beauvais, and seconded Lieutenant La Brosse—the same who had served at Schenectady—determined, with four other Frenchmen, to raise a party of Christian Iroquois, of whom the Great Mohawk assumed command. They embarked at Montreal,[1] and descended the St. Lawrence to the Sorel River. On the 26th of May, their scouts heard some musket-shots, and soon after perceived two field-cabins, containing fourteen Iroquois. These they attacked, and captured to a man. From them they learned that, on the route they were keeping—and which led to an English fort, that they designed attacking—they would find a party these Indians had recently left, and which comprised more than thirty men, without reckoning women and children.

Our allies engage each other without recognizing.

This news gave great pleasure; but, when they least expected it, they fell into an ambuscade. They cut through it, however, gallantly, killed four men and two women, and took forty-two prisoners, eight of them English.[2] Learning that seven hundred Mohegans awaited them a day's march further on, they judged it best to retreat, not being strong enough, and being too much incumbered with their prisoners to expose themselves to the risk of so unequal a struggle. What induced them to take a dif-

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Salisbury (ib., p. 193) says they killed twenty-five of the French; though Van Cortlandt, to Andros (ib., p. 194) says fifteen; Smith's History of New York, p. 66, says, killed or took, twenty-five.

[1] In canoes, on the 18th. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale, iii., p. 81.

[2] English women. Relation de ce qui s'est passé, 1689-90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 473; Canada Doc., I., iv.

1690. ferent route homeward from that they had come, I know not; but it was to cost them dear.

Death of the Great Mohawk.

On the 4th of June they found themselves, at noon, on the banks of Salmon River, which empties into Lake Champlain. As they had left their canoes at some distance from this point, they deemed it most expeditious to make new ones; and, without loss of time, set to work. In the evening, at the time when they were at prayer together, they were discovered by a party of Algonquins and Abénaquis, also out on the war-path against the English. These, taking them for enemies, attacked them in the morning before day. The Great Mohawk was killed on the spot with one of his men; six other Iroquois, two Frenchmen, and two English slaves, were wounded, and prisoners taken on both sides.[1]

Frontenac's embarrassment on this affair, and how he extricated himself.

Then it was that they recognized each other. The regret on both sides was extreme; but the Iroquois, inconsolable for the death of their chief, refused to set at liberty the prisoners whom they had taken. This refusal irritated the others, a bitter feeling ensued, and every thing was to be feared from this mutual resentment. The Count de Frontenac needed all his prudence and ability to quell the rising storm; and he succeeded after much negotiation. It was, at last, arranged that the aggressors should send deputies with a belt to Sault St. Louis, to protest that the whole affair was accidental, and to ask for their brethren; that their protestation should be well received, and all the prisoners exchanged. The Abénaqui orator, who was spokesman, used the most sensible and touching terms, and concluded by showing that they

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[1] Relation, &c., 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 473; Canada Doc., I., iv., pp. 365–474; De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 82; i., p. 347. Mather, in his Magnalia, gives the death of Hopehood in this way: Hopehood, who was an Abénaqui, and had been a slave in Boston (Book ii., p. 69), commanded his tribemen at Salmon Falls, and, probably, on this occasion. See Publick Occurrences, Boston, September 25, 1690, in Historical Magazine, i., p. 230.

should give the departed their tears, without disturbance, a friendship which was founded on religion alone. 1690.

The Great Mohawk was not less deplored by the French than by his countrymen, and it was the missionaries who most of all regretted this loss. This neophyte was himself a zealous missionary; and, on the plan which he adopted, would perhaps, had his life been spared a few years, have converted his whole canton. His conversion to Christianity had been the work of God alone. He did not yet know any Jesuit, and had scarcely heard our religion spoken of, when, by an impulse over which he seemed to have no control, he felt moved to visit his brethren, who had settled at La Prairie de la Magdeleine. Yet he would not go alone: he imparted his design to several Mohawks, and as many as fifty volunteered to accompany him.[1]

They were extremely surprised to see their countrymen transformed, so to speak, into other men; all that they observed in the town charmed them, and they declared that they would not leave it. They were instructed; the word of God found in them docile hearts, and they were baptized. Their example and words drew many others; and the Great Mohawk, especially, was so penetrated with the holy fire that makes apostles, that, down to his death, he never ceased laboring to obtain adorers for the true God. Heaven blessed his labors, even beyond his hopes. Yet with this he ever maintained the high reputation he had acquired in war; and it was out of esteem for his personal merit, and still more for his virtue, that the French gave him the name, under which alone he is known, in the memoirs of that period.

The Abenaquis and Algonquins, whose error had such fatal results, had quite recently arrived from Acadia, where they had been greatly distinguished in an expedition, no

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., pp. 347–9; Relation de la N. F., 1672–3, p. 53;—1673–9, p. 142; Mission de St. Xavier des Près., 1674, Ms.; Shea's Catholic Missions, pp. 271–299. He overthrew the Mohegans (De la Potherie, p. 347), and is evidently the Kryn of English accounts.

1690. less successful or honorable to the French than that against Schenectady. Mr. de Frontenac, as I have remarked, had, during the winter, formed three parties to enter the English territory at the same time, in three different directions. That intended to act against New York, and which took effect at Schenectady, had been raised at Montreal; the other two were raised in the Governments of Three Rivers and Quebec: the General intending, in this way, to create an emulation between these parties, which seldom fails to produce a good effect, when all other considerations are carefully excluded, as well as every thing that tends to degrade a laudable emulation into a pernicious jealousy.

Sieur Hertel's expedition.

Sementels taken from the English.

The Government of Three Rivers was, at this time, very thinly-settled, and could raise only fifty-two men, including five Algonquins and twenty Sokokis;[1] but they were led by a colonial officer, to whom the conduct of an enterprise of this nature could be most fitly confided; this is the testimony borne him by the Count de Frontenac, in a letter written at the time to Mr. de Seignelay. This officer was the Sieur Hertel, whose captivity and virtues have already been noticed.[2] In the little troop under his command, he had three of his sons, and two of his nephews: the Sieur Crevier, Seigneur of Saint Francis; and the Sieur Gatineau.

He set out from Three Rivers on the 28th of January; struck inland, due south, leaving Lake Champlain on his left; then inclined eastward; and, after long and severe marching, arrived, on the 27th of March, near an English town, called Sementels,[3] which he had reconnoitered by his

[1] De Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé, &c., 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 82; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 395; Williamson, Hist. Maine, i., p. 618; Belknap's Hist. New Hampshire, i., 207, says the Indians were commanded by Hopehood.

[2] Ante, vol. iii., p. 43; Maurault, Hist. des Abénakis, p. 200, n. Francis Hertel, Sieur de Chambly, died at Boucherville, May 29, 1722. Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 469.

[3] This place, then called Salmon

scouts. Then he divided his band into three: the first, consisting of fifteen men, had orders to attack a large fortified house; the second, comprising only eleven men, he sent to seize a stockade fort, with four bastions; the third, which he commanded in person, was intended to attack another and larger fort, mounted with artillery.[1] 1690.

All this was carried out with a skill and bravery which astonished the English; they, at first, showed a pretty bold front; but they could not stand the first fire of the assailants: the bravest were cut to pieces, and the rest, to the number of fifty-four, were made prisoners of war. It cost the victors only one Frenchman, who had his thigh broken, and died the next day. Twenty-seven houses were reduced to ashes, and two thousand head of cattle perished in the stables, which were fired.[2] Sementels was only six leagues from quite a large town in New England, called Pescadouët,[3] which was able to send out a force sufficient to surround Hertel, and cut off his retreat. In fact, on the evening of the same day, two Indians came to warn him that two hundred men were advancing to attack him. Expecting this, he had taken his measures to defeat those of the enemy. He arranged his men in fighting order, on

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Falls, is now Berwick, N. H. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471; Williamson's Maine, i., p. 618; De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 76, calls it "Semenfals," and Le Clercq (ii., p. 394), "Sementals"; and I had always considered "Sementels" a French corruption of Salmon Falls, like "Kaskebé," for Casco Bay; "Merrimitin," for Merry Meeting; "Képan," for Cape Ann; yet Maurault, Histoire des Abénakis, p. 200, n., gives it as an Indian name, and says the place was formerly so called from the Abénaki Senimenal, "stone beads," from the quantity of pebbles, at that point, on the Piscataqua. Mather, however, gives "Newichawannick" as the Indian name. Book vii., p. 73.

[1] One piece of cannon. De Monseignat, Relation de ce s'est passé; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471; De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept. iii., p. 77.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 77, says seven houses; but de Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471, says twenty-seven.

[3] Charlevoix, in his Errata, says "Pescadoué." This is equivalent to Piscataway. It is now Portsmouth, N. H. According to Maurault, Pescadoué means a "darksome place."

1690. the bank of a river,[1] over which there was a very narrow bridge; the head of this bridge he had seized, leaving the English no other way to approach him.

The Sieur Hertel repulses the English at a bridge.

They pressed forward to cross the bridge; and, despising the small number of the French, engaged with great confidence. Hertel let them advance, without firing a shot; then suddenly sprang upon them, sword in hand; at the first blow, he killed eight, wounded ten, and forced the rest to abandon the battle-field. In this action he lost his nephew, the gallant Crevier,[2] and a Sokoki Indian. La Fresniere, his eldest son, received a musket-ball in the knee, of which he will bear the glorious marks to his grave. He is still a captain in Canada; he distinguished himself subsequently, on many occasions; and, as became the eldest son, shared his father's piety.[3]

He joins Mr. de Portneuf.

After so brilliant an action, Hertel thought only of retreating, and did so with judgment and success; but, after marching some days, he was compelled to leave, in the hands of the Indians, his son, who was unable to sustain any longer the hardships of the march. At the same place, Hertel learned that the party from the Government of Quebec was only two days distant, and had not yet come into action. On learning this, he dispatched his nephew, Gatineau, to the Governor-General, to report the success of his own expedition; he, at the same time, permitted the Sieur Maugras, who had brought him the five Algonquins, to return with them to Saint Francis, and he himself prepared, with the rest of his party, to join, at Kaskebé, that from Quebec.[4]

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[1] Wooster River. Belknap's New Hampshire, i., 207.

[2] De Monseignat says four killed. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471; De la Potherie, iii., p. 77; and Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., pp. 394–5, give no number.

[3] Zachary Hertel, Sieur de la Fresniere, was a seconded lieutenant in 1695, and captain in 1731. Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 470.

[4] Narrative of Occurrences, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 472. The prisoners were left to the Indians; and Cotton Mather, Magnalia, Book vii., p. 69, details their sufferings at the hands of Hopehood, the Indian chief. See also, Drake's Indian Captivities, p. 109.

This party was commanded by Mr. de Portneuf, the third son of the Baron of Bekancourt, and lieutenant of Manneval's company. Frontenac had ordered him to take all that company which was in Acadia, because de Manneval, his captain and brother, was Governor of that province. Raising, also, some Canadians, and sixty Abénaquis, from the Falls of the Chaudiere, he set out from Quebec the same day that Hertel left Three Rivers. Tilli de Courtemanche acted as his lieutenant.[1] 1690.

From the prevailing dearth of provisions that year in Canada, the authorities could allow them but scanty supplies. This compelled them to hunt on the way: so that it was the middle of May before they reached the Abénaqui village, where Portneuf had, apparently, reckoned on swelling his force. Finding no one there, he pushed on to a second village of the same nation, on the banks of the Kinibequi,[2] where he learned that some warriors had recently returned from a raid on the English territory, in which they had killed six men. He persuaded these braves to follow him, as well as some Indians of the neighborhood;[3] and, on the 25th, he proceeded to encamp four leagues from Casco (Kaskebé), which he had resolved to attack.[4]

Casco Bay (Kaskebé) was a town on the sea-coast, with a very well-built fort;[5] it had eight pieces of artillery

[1] De Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé, &c., 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 472; and Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 391, gives him fifty Frenchmen. Tilli de Repentigny Courtemanche, ib., p. 392. They left Quebec, January 28. The New England accounts, which sadly confuse French names, and divide De Portneuf into himself and one Burneffe, also bring in de St. Castin as acting a prominent part; but it is pretty clear he was not there. Robineau de Portneuf was a brother of de Menneval and de Villebon.

[2] Kennebec.

[3] Le Clercq, ii., p. 391, says 150.

[4] De la Potherie says they reached Keskebaye, May 23. Histoire de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 78; but the Narrative, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 47; and Le Clercq, ii., p. 391, say 25th.

[5] The place called by the French "Kaskebé"—their mode of writing Casco Bay, which they took for the name of the town—was Falmouth, now Portland, Maine. The fort was Fort Loyal. It stood at the foot of King street. Maine Hist. Coll., i., p. 203; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 472; Willis, Portland, p. 284.

1690. mounted, and lacked neither ammunition nor provisions. The ensuing night, four Indians and two Frenchmen proceeded to lay an ambuscade quite near the fort, and an Englishman, falling into it at daybreak, was slain.[1] The Indians at once raised their cry; and, about noon,[2] fifty of the garrison advanced in good order toward the spot from which the cries seemed to come. They were almost upon it, before they perceived anything; but our men, seeing them approach, poured in a volley at ten paces' distance; then, without giving them time to recover, rushed on them, sword and tomahawk in hand, and so well availed themselves of the disorder occasioned by these two sudden attacks, that only four, and they wounded, succeeded in retiring within the fort.[3]

Siege of Kaskebe and several other forts.

The English abandon four forts.

There were, near Casco Bay, four other smaller forts, which opened on the assailants, compelling them to draw off a little, after having one Indian killed, and a Frenchman wounded. In the evening, Mr. de Portneuf sent to summon the Governor of Casco, who replied that he was determined to hold out till death. Portneuf was somewhat at a loss. He had gone too far to recoil with honor; yet Frontenac's orders forbade him to attack any fortified place, and his commission authorized him only to ravage the fields; but he found them stripped, and the settlers on their guard.

Moreover, he had been informed of the capture of Corlar (Schenectady); while Hertel, who had just joined him, had shared in the success at Sementels, and it galled him

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[1] Robert Greason. Davis's Declaration, Mass. Hist. Coll., i., p. 104–5.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 79, say thirty; and this is confirmed by Davis's Declaration, and by Williamson, Hist. Maine, i., p. 620, who say they were commanded by Lieut. Thaddeus Clark.

[3] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 79. Williamson, History of Maine, i., p. 620, says Clark, and thirteen fell at the first fire; but in a note, on p. 622, he brings the same matter in again as a massacre, after the surrender. Gov. Bradstreet, in a letter to Leisler, May 30, 1690, O. S., makes the party sallying out, twenty-six. O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist., ii., p. 146.

not a little to return with less glory than his colleagues; besides, since Hertel's arrival, his whole force eagerly clamored to be led on to the assault. All things well considered, he concluded that, situated as he was, he might interpret the General's will, and it was resolved to continue the attack on Casco Bay. On their side, the English, seeing the impossibility of holding so many forts at once, evacuated the four smaller forts, concentrating all the men to reinforce the garrison at Casco Bay, and put it in a better condition to hold out. 1690.

On the night of May 26–7th, the besiegers encamped on the sea-shore, fifty paces from the fort, covered by a very steep hill, where they had nothing to fear from the artillery. The next night they opened the trenches. Neither Canadians nor Indians had any experience in this mode of attack; but courage, and a desire for victory, atoned for want of skill. All worked with the greatest ardor; and as they were fortunate enough to find in the abandoned forts all the implements needed for throwing up the earth, the works advanced with such celerity, that, on the evening of the 28th, the besieged asked to parley.

Casco surrenders, and the garrison made prisoners.

They were told that the French wished the fort, with all its ammunition and supplies. They asked six days[1] to deliberate, hoping to be relieved in the interval; but only that night was granted them, and the trenches were pushed on. The next day they threw out a number of grenades, which did no execution; the French approached the palisade, prepared, as soon as they got up, to set fire to a tar barrel, and other inflammable matter.[2]

The besieged, seeing this machine constantly advance, and having no means of preventing its operation—

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 472–3; Canada Doc., I., iv., p. 365, &c.; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 79–80; Declaration of Sylvanus Davis, Mass. Hist. Coll., iii., i., pp. 101–112; Mather's Magnalia, Book .vii, p. 73; Willis, Hist. of Portland; Maine H. C., i., pp. 203–5.

[2] Bradstreet to Leisler, mentions the use of birch-bark to fire the place. O'Callaghan's Doc. Hist., ii., p. 146.

1690. those who pushed it on, being covered by the trench—raised the white flag. De Portneuf then told the Governor that he must expect no conditions, but surrender as a prisoner of war, with all his garrison. Seeing no alternative, that officer at once marched out with all his force, amounting to seventy men, besides women and children.[1]

The English arrive too late to relieve it.

Scarcely was the fort evacuated, when four British sails hove in sight, bearing, as was subsequently ascertained, troops to relieve Casco; but those in command seeing no flag flying at any of the forts, felt that they had come too late; that if they had force enough to help a garrison hold a fort, they had not enough to besiege it; so, after waiting a time to see whether any signals were made, they determined to sail off. On his side, de Portneuf began by seizing all that suited him in the forts, then set them on fire, carried off[2] the cannon, and laid in ashes every house for two leagues around.[3]

Most of the prisoners remained in the hands of the Indians; the Governor, Captain Denys,[4] the two daughters of his lieutenant who was killed during the siege, and some of the principal officers, were taken to Quebec,[5] which

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., 1689-90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 473; Canada Doc., II., v., p. 119; Le Clercq, ii., p. 393.

[2] Clarlevoix evidently misprints "enlever" for "clouer." They could not carry off the cannon, which were spiked (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 473), and thrown into the sea. Le Clercq, ii., p. 393; Relation, 1689-90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 473.

[3] Le Clercq says two hundred houses. Bradstreet mentions their falling on Wells and Kittery. N. Y. Doc. Hist., ii., p. 146.

[4] The commander of the fort was Captain Sylvanus Davis, who had succeeded Capt. Willard. His Declaration (Mass. Hist. Coll., III., i., pp. 101–102), gives the date of the attack, May 16; and the surrender, May 20, 1690, O. S. See, also, Mather's Magnalia, ii., p. 524. Davis belonged to one of the oldest families in Maine. He was at Sheepscot in 1659, and was wounded in the Indian war of 1676, at Arrowsick (Church's Indian War, ii., p. 142). He settled at Falmouth in 1680, and built a saw-mill there. He was a prisoner at Quebec from May to Oct. 15, 1690. On his return, he became Councillor for Sagadahoc, in 1691; and, after spending his latter days at Hull, Mass., died in 1704. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 489; Maine Hist. Coll., i., p. 209; Church's Indian War (Dexter's ed.), ii., p. 14.

[5] Le Clercq, Establissement de la Foi, ii., p. 393.

de Portneuf reached on the 23d of June, after twenty-three days' march. One of his Frenchmen had an arm broken in the trenches, and an Indian got a musket-ball through his arm.[1] This was all that his brilliant conquest cost: but then he had nothing, save the glory of having displayed great valor and skill. Messieurs Hertel, de Courtemanche, and all the volunteers, also distinguished themselves, and the Indians rendered excellent service.[2] 1690.

Restoring the reputation of the French arms was not, in itself, sufficient to reassure our allies. It was necessary, moreover, to put them in a position enabling them to dispense with English trade, and to be free from fear of any efforts of the Iroquois. Frontenac thought of every thing at once; and, when de Portneuf reached Quebec, it was a month after the departure from Montreal for Michillimakinac, of a great convoy, under the direction of the Sieur de la Porte Louvigny, seconded captain, accompanied by Nicholas Perrot: the latter bearing presents from the Governor-General for the Indians; the former to remain at Michillimakinac as Commandant.[3] Great convoy sent to Michillimakinac.

There was nothing to be said against this selection. Mr. de Louvigny[4] was one of the most accomplished officers then in New France; but men were somewhat surprised to see the General, without any pretext, recall Mr. de la Durantaye, whose wisdom and firmness had retained for the King all the advanced posts in most critical times, and who had lived there in most perfect disinterestedness. Recall of Mr. de la Durantaye. His eulogy.

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[1] Through the leg. De la Potherie, iii., p. 81; Relation, 1689-90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 473.

[2] La Hontan, Voyages, ii., 204, in a loose, inaccurate account of this expedition, makes de Portneuf, with three hundred men, take Kenebeki.

[3] Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé, 1689-90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 470; Frontenac's Dispatch, Nov. 20, 1690 (Tailhan's Perrot, p. 323). The latter document calls him Louvigny de la Porte. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 74.

[4] Lost in the wreck of the Chameau, in 1725, when Governor elect of Three Rivers. *Charlevoix.* In the Wisconsin Hist. Coll., v., p. 108, there is a sketch of Louis de la Porte, Sieur de Louvigny, by L. C. Draper, Esq. He commanded at Mackinaw, 1690-4; at Fort Frontenac, 1699.

1690. Some attributed his disgrace to the fact that he maintained too good an understanding with the missionaries; and it is certain that this concert, deemed by the Marquis de Dénonville so vital to the good of the service, and undoubtedly of inestimable importance to the progress of religion, was not to the taste of Mr. de Frontenac. Moreover, merit too generally applauded, and the purest virtue, give umbrage to many, and always raise up the envious, who rarely let slip an opportunity of ruining those who overshadow them, and are at no loss for an occasion, when they have to deal with superiors liable to prejudice. This Mr. de la Durantaye experienced, to his sorrow. With merit of every kind that can raise a gentleman to military honors, and after rendering essential service to New France, he never attained a higher rank than he bore when he came.[1] Forced, in his latter days, to leave the army, he entered the magistracy,[2] where he was distinguished for his integrity; but, relentlessly pursued by misfortune, he died in poverty, leaving to his children only a noble example and gentle birth, with nothing to maintain it.[3]

The convoy attacked by the Iroquois

De Louvigny's convoy was escorted by one hundred and forty-three Frenchmen, many of whom eagerly embraced the opportunity to go for furs which they had in the storehouses of Michillimakinac, but had been unable to bring down, for fear of Iroquois war parties. Six Indians also embarked with them; and a detachment of thirty men, commanded by Captain d'Hosta and Lieutenant de la Gemeraye, was ordered to escort them for thirty leagues.[4]

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[1] He was a captain in the Carignan Salières regiment. *Charlevoix.*

[2] He died a Councillor in the Superior Council of Quebec. Ib.

[3] Olivier Morel de la Durantaye, was born at Notre Dame du Gaure, Nantes. In 1670 he married Frances Duauet. His descendants, who are many, are spoken of in terms of eulogy by Ferland, ii., p. 208.

[4] Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé, 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 470; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 74–5. They were to escort them as far as the Calumets, on the Ottawa, sixty leagues from Montreal. (Ib.) Frontenac's dispatch, Nov. 20, 1690, says in all one hundred and seventy men.

1690.

They set out May 22, and, the next day,[2] discovered two Indian canoes at a place, called Les Chats. D'Hosta and de Louvigny, concluding that they were not alone, sent thirty men in three canoes, and sixty by land, to surround the enemy on all sides. The first party fell into an ambuscade ; and, at the outset, received a heavy fire, almost at the muzzle: the Iroquois, whom they could not see, picking their men, and aiming surely. In de la Gemeraye's canoe, the first that attempted to land, there were, after the first volley, only two men left unwounded.[3]

Defeat of the Iroquois.

Louvigny was in despair to see his men thus slaughtered, without his being able to help them ; for Perrot, whom he had express orders to obey on the way, would not permit him to advance, for fear of risking the presents in his charge. At last, however, he yielded to the entreaties of the Commandant and Mr. d'Hosta. They at once put themselves at the head of fifty or sixty men, and rushed upon the enemy; the attack was so sudden and so well-timed, that thirty Iroquois were killed, several wounded, and some taken; the rest with difficulty reached their canoes, and escaped. This party consisted of thirteen canoes, and its defeat produced a good effect.[4]

Messrs. d'Hosta and de la Gemeraye[5] having soon after

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[1] From the upper end of Montreal Island. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 470.

[2] June 2. (Ib.) De la Potherie says they halted below Les Chats, twelve days after starting (iii., p. 75).

[3] Four were killed. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471; De la Potherie, iii., 75. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 32, in a brief notice, says they lost five men, and mentions only ten Iroquois as killed. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 386, gives the whole loss in the action as seven.

[4] Four prisoners were taken : two men and two women, Only four of the thirteen canoes escaped. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 471 ; De la Potherie, iii., p. 76.

[5] Christopher Dufrost de Lajemmerais was a Breton gentleman from Medréac, in the diocese of St. Malo, where the family still subsists. The fief, which gave them name, seems to be, properly, La Gesmerais. He was, at first, midshipman at Rochefort, and came over, in 1687, as ensign. He rose, by his valor, to a lieutenancy, and was made commandant of Fort Frontenac in 1697. He died in 1708. By his wife, Mary Renée de Varennes, grand-daughter of Peter Boucher, of Three Rivers, he had six children, the most distin-

1690. returned to Montreal,[1] from that point dispatched one of their prisoners to the Count de Frontenac, who resigned him to Oureouharé, who was quite touched by this mark of confidence. Another was taken to Michillimakinac, and given up to the Ottawas, who, to show the new Commandant that they had no further thought of making any terms with the Iroquois, burned him. This change was the result of our victories, of which the convoy bore the tidings to the Indians at a time when their ambassadors were preparing to set out to put the finishing stroke to an irrevocable treaty with the Iroquois nation.

But when they beheld the French coming, victorious over all their enemies, loaded with merchandise, and in sufficient numbers to inspire them with confidence against any attempt of the Iroquois;—then, charmed with the presents delivered to them by Perrot, who knew admirably how to make the most of them,—they became more attached than ever to our interests, and were not slow in giving us unmistakable proofs. One hundred and ten canoes, loaded with a hundred thousand crowns' worth of furs, and manned by over three hundred Indians, of all the Northern nations, soon after set out for Montreal,[2] where they found the Count de Frontenac, who had come up to be nearer at hand in defending that settlement from a threatened invasion.

Perfidy of the Iroquois.

All hope of peace with the Iroquois had vanished. We have seen that these savages had arrested the Chevalier d'Eau,[3] and the French who accompanied him, although the Governor-General, in deputing that officer to Onon-

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guished of whom was Mary Margaret, who, after the death of her husband, Francis You d'Youville, son of one of La Salle's companions, founded the Sisters of Charity at Montreal, called Sœurs Grises, and a General Hospital. See Faillon, Vie de Madame d'Youville, 8°., pp. 1–6.

[1] D'Hosta was killed at La Prairie, in 1691. Charlevoix, ii., p. 104; N. Y. Col. Doc., 14, p. 522.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 471–8; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., 386, 408 bis; Frontenac's dispatch, Canada Doc., II., v., p. 119; De la Potherie, iii., 76, 91, says five hundred Indians.

[3] See note next page.

daga, intended to give that canton a mark of confidence which should have flattered it.[1] They did more: they sent him to New York,[2] to convince the English that they were very far from any reconciliation with the French. In fine, they carried perfidy so far as to violate the law of nations: they burned two of the Frenchmen who accompanied that officer.[3] I do not know what prevented the authorities in Canada from learning this treachery at once;[4] but they soon suspected that the cantons were bent on prosecuting the war; and the Governor-General, without delay, took precautions to prevent a surprise. He gave wise orders for the security of the districts most exposed to the ravages of these Indians; and, for this purpose, he formed two detachments of his best troops: the first, intended to watch the southern bank from Montreal to the Sorel River, was commanded by the Chevalier de Clermont, seconded captain; the second, which was to put in a safe position

1690.

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[1] Ante, p. 52.

[2] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 409. La Hontan incorrectly says to Boston. Voyages, i., p. 206.

[3] Champigny's dispatch, May 10, 1691; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 499, 502; and La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 206, say they burned all the Chevalier's companions—that is, Colin and two others. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 401, represents them all as taken uninjured to New York. Smith, History of New York, p. 68, says the Chevalier and the rest of the French messengers were treated with the utmost indignity, and afterward given up to the English. Frontenac, in his dispatch to Pontchartrain, May 10, 1691 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 495), speaks of two of the French as killed. Belmont says Colin was burned and Bouviat killed (Histoire, p. 32). The Relation de ce qui, &c., 1690–1 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 516), on apparently definite intelligence, says one was burned at Seneca, one at Onondaga, and that one died of sickness at Mohawk. Nevertheless, Duplanty, a soldier, was given up as one of his party. (Ib., p. 582.) The Chevalier d'Aux was given up to Leisler's envoys, apparently in May. (Leisler, in N. Y. Doc. Hist., ii., p. 138.) He was at New York in June. (Ib., p. 150.) He is said to have been sent subsequently to Boston. He escaped in August, 1692, and reached Canada. (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 533–543.) His name is given as d'Eau, d'O, d'Au. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 198, gives it, from his autograph, d'Aux. He wrote an account of his embassy and captivity.

[4] They made efforts to capture Iroquois with this view. (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 482.) They did not learn till April, 1691, by the arrival of two Mohawks. Ib., p. 490.

1690. all the rest of the country, as far as the capital, was under the orders of the Chevalier de la Motte, also a seconded captain. The Chevalier de Clermont, on reaching the mouth of the river, learned that some boys, while guarding cattle, had been carried off by the Iroquois: he pursued them, rescued the boys, except one, whom the savages had killed at once, because he could not keep up with them.[1]

New hostilities on their part.

At the same time, another party of Iroquois, having descended on the Island of Montreal by Des Prairies River, was discovered by a settler, who gave notice to the Sieur Colombet, a seconded lieutenant. That officer at once collected twenty-five men, and hastened in pursuit of the enemy, who advanced half-way to meet him. The Iroquois, being much superior in numbers, charged the French with great resolution. Colombet was left on the field, with some of his men; but the Iroquois lost twenty-five.[2] Some days before, another troop of these Indians had carried off fifteen or sixteen women and children, near Bekancourt River. They were pursued; but the only effect was that the savages, to facilitate their escape, butchered all their prisoners.[3]

In fine, there was no security anywhere; and a considerable part of the land could not be sowed, producing a very great famine the next year throughout the colony.

Arrival of a great convoy from Michillimakinac.

In the very height of these alarms, on the 18th of August, the Sieur de la Chassaigne,[4] who commanded at Fort La

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 474. This Indian party comprised one Englishman from Albany, who was killed, and his commission taken.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 474; De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 83; Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 399. The French lost twelve men. The action took place at Pointe au Tremble.

[3] The river was then called Puante. It empties opposite Three Rivers. De Monseignat, Relation, &c.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 474; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 83.

[4] John Bouillet, Sieur de la Chassaigne, captain of a company in the marine service, was from Paray, in the County of Charolais. (Ferland, ii., p. 210; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 478.) In 1709 he was sent to the relief of Chambly. (Ib., 834.) In 1727 he was Governor of Three

Chine, was informed that a flotilla of canoes had appeared on Lake St. Louis. There was scarcely a doubt but that they were Iroquois; and Mr. de Frontenac, who had been for three weeks at Montreal, was already giving orders to notify the settlers in the country parts to retire to the forts, when Tilly, Sieur de l'Isle, came in, assuring them that it was the great convoy from Michillimakinac, already mentioned.[1] 1690.

The joy everywhere was intense, and proportioned to the alarm at first occasioned. The little fleet arrived at Montreal, and was welcomed with the acclamations of the whole city. On the 22d, the General gave public audience to all the chiefs; they spoke quite well, and seemed to be in the most favorable disposition in regard to the actual position of affairs.[2] On the following day trading began; but it was soon interrupted by La Plaque, an Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, and nephew of the great Mohawk.

He had been sent on a scout toward Albany; and, while returning to report what he had seen, he halted an eighth of a league from the spot where the Ottawas and other Indians were encamped, and carrying on their trade. He took it into his head to give several death-yells. The Indians, supposing the enemy was at hand, ran to arms; but when, after some time, they saw nothing, regained confidence, and resumed their trade.

Frontenac warned of the approach of an English and Iroquois army.

Meanwhile, La Plaque entered the town, and told de Frontenac that he had discovered, on the banks of Lake St. Sacrement,[3] a whole army, engaged in building canoes; that he had repeatedly approached them to endeavor to make some prisoners, but always in vain; and that, before

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Rivers (Ib., 999); and was sent to Governor Burnet, of New York, to remonstrate against building a fort at Oswego. (Ib., 970.) He married, in October, 1699, Mary Ann, daughter of Charles le Moyne. Ferland, ii., p. 210. Charlevoix's note here says: "He died Governor of Montreal."

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., 1689–90; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 478; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 90–1. Frontenac left Quebec, July 22, and returned the 31st. Ib.; Le Clercq, ii., p. 401.

[2] August 22.

[3] Lake George.

1690. withdrawing, he had taken three "cassetêtes" to a cabin, to tell the enemy that they were discovered, as well as to defy them.[1] La Plaque was a brave man—a very indifferent Christian, though warmly attached to the French. I have spoken of him elsewhere, and have mentioned that he was a lieutenant in our army.[2] It was, accordingly, deemed impossible to doubt the sincerity of his report; and the General judged it his duty to neglect nothing to put the Government of Montreal in a state of defense.

His first thought was as to means of retaining his allies near him: he gave them marks of great friendship; regaled them with profusion; then told them all, in a general assembly, that he was charmed with the disposition in which he beheld them, to make neither peace nor truce with the Iroquois; that they could no longer doubt his own resolution to pursue them without relaxation, till he had brought them humbly to ask peace at his hands; that, moreover, he wished them to rest assured that he would not grant the Iroquois peace, except on conditions equally advantageous to the French and their allies, since both were equally his children.

He then added that he believed them too brave, and too sincerely attached to himself, to leave him on the eve of his being attacked by an army of their common enemies; and that the only point to be considered was whether it would be most expedient to advance, and meet this army, or sternly await their coming. Then, without giving them time to answer, he performed the ceremony of putting the hatchet in their hands, saying that he was well assured

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c.; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 478; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 96. They explain "cassetêtes" as clubs of the shape of a cutlass, on which they make figures, showing who commands the party.

[2] La Plaque probably followed his uncle to Canada. His father, who remained on the Mohawk, La Plaque once, in battle, was about to kill, when he recognized him. (Charlevoix, Journal, p. 309.) He, at first, lived among the French; was a fine, well-formed man, and received a lieutenant's commission; but went back to the Indian life. He was so dissolute, that, at the Sault, it was at one time proposed to put him to death. (Ib., 332–3.)

they would use it well. He did not even deem it beneath his dignity to begin to sing his war-song, tomahawk in hand: wishing, in this way, to show them that it was his intention to combat at their head. Any thing becomes a man who knows how to do every thing with dignity, and in season. The Indians were enchanted with the conduct of the Count de Frontenac, and replied only by acclamations, which assured him of their consent.[1] 1690.

Arrive at Montreal.

On the 29th of August, the Chevalier de Clermont, who had received orders to ascend the Sorel River, in order to watch the enemy, arrived at Montreal, and reported that he had perceived a very large force on Lake Champlain, and that he had even been pursued to Chambly. Thereupon, the signals were given to assemble the regulars and militia.[2]

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 478; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 96–7.

[2] Ib. Strangely enough, the early New York historians are entirely at fault in regard to this expedition. Smith, in his History of New York, alludes to it merely in a note (p. 69), where he cites the Life of Phipps and Charlevoix, as though he knew of no New York documents. Colden, History of the Five Nations, 8°, London, p. 127, confounds it with Major Peter Schuyler's expedition, in 1691. The French accounts came, of course, from scouts and Indian statements, yet are, in the main, borne out.

The expedition was one to co-operate with Phipps' operations against Quebec, by attacking Montreal. On the 1st of May, 1690, an agreement was entered into between Leisler and the authorities of Connecticut, Boston, and Plymouth, by which New York was to furnish four hundred men; Connecticut, one hundred and thirty-five; Boston, one hundred and sixty; Plymouth, sixty; and the Five Nations, one thousand eight hundred and twenty men. (Leisler to Shrewsbury, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 751.) Portneuf's attack on Casco compelled Massachusetts and Plymouth to retain their men at home (ib., p. 727); but the others prepared to take the field. The Western Iroquois were to meet at Fort La Motte, an abandoned French work, on Lake Champlain (N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 195), and go down the Sorel. (Milet, Relation, p. 46.) The Whites, with the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Mohegans, were apparently to meet at Lake George, and march by land. (Milet.) Of the former, the French accounts say that nine hundred took the field (De la Potherie, iii., pp. 126–7; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 513–4); and of the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Mohegans, 470. (Ib.) The small-pox broke out among the Western Indians (Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestic, Boston, Sept. 25, 1690; Hist. Mag., i., p. 229); and Vielc, late in the summer, brought in word that they could not send the force. (N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 195.)

1690. Early on the morning of the 31st, the Count de Frontenac passed over to La Prairie de la Magdeleine, which he had made the general rendezvous; and the Indians, whom he had invited, came into the camp in the evening, not leaving a single man in their quarters to watch their goods.

Grand Council and its operations.

The next day he reviewed his army, which amounted to twelve hundred men; and, in the afternoon, some Indians from Sault St. Louis invited the chiefs of the other nations to meet at the tent of their Father, Ononthio, who had an important communication to make to them. They came, and when all were assembled, Louis Atherihata, one of the most influential chiefs of Sault St. Louis, delivered a very fine address in the name of all the Iroquois Christians. He began by exhorting all the Indians to open their hearts

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It does not, indeed, seem that any Indians assembled at Fort La Motte —Schuyler not alluding to any, either going or returning from Wood Creek to La Prairie. (N. Y. Doc. Hist., ii., pp. 160–2.) The Mohawks and Albany Volunteers, under Major Peter Schuyler, seemed to have pushed on early to Wood Creek. Leisler sent up some troops from New York to Albany, complained of as boys; and Connecticut, two companies, under Fitch and Johnson. (N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 752; iv., p. 193.) To maintain his men, Leisler seized a lot of poor pork, and disease broke out, the men dying "like rotten sheep." (Livingston to Governor Nicholson, ib., iii., p. 727.) The small-pox, at the time, prevailed at Albany. For the command of an expedition thus wretchedly begun, the New England colonies urged the appointment of Fitz John Winthrop, already commissioned by the Governor of Connecticut, to command the troops of that colony. Leisler yielded; and, after Winthrop reached Albany, July 21, with fifty men and thirty Indians, to complete the quota of his colony (N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 752; iv., p. 193), Leisler, on the 31st, issued a commission making him Major of the forces. (Doc. Hist., ii., p. 158.) At the camp, near Albany, he found every thing in confusion, and the small-pox spreading. He evidently sided with the Anti-Leislerians; and, in his Journal, prepared in 1696, never alludes in any way to Leisler. (N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., pp. 193–6.) On the 30th of July he marched forward by way of Stillwater and Saratoga, delayed by scarcity of canoes. (Hist. Mag., i., p. 229.) On the 6th of August he encamped at the Fork of Wood Creek; and, the next day, with part of his men, went down to the Lake, where he met Schuyler, the burghers, and the Iroquois chiefs. (Ib.) This was, doubtless, the camp seen by La Plaque and Clermont, with its small parties prowling about. Here, Winthrop called a council of war, and asked the Indian chiefs for their advice as to the best way to prosecute the war. They left it wholly to him, but finally advised that the whole army should move

to their common Father, and to conceal nothing, however secret, that had occurred of late years. Then addressing the Ottawas directly, he told them that he was aware of all their negotiations with the Cantons, and was not ignorant that they had given it all up; but there still remained a shade of distrust: and hence he begged them to declare distinctly what had induced them to treat with the enemy without the knowledge of their Father, and what was their actual disposition toward the French.[1] 1690.

"It is true," replied the Ottawa orator,[2] "that we restored to the Iroquois some slaves, and promised to return others; but consider the way in which we were treated, and say whether we were wrong. After involving us in war, the French forced us to stop all hostilities; then

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(Ib., p. 195.) Their conduct was deemed unsatisfactory by Winthrop; the Commissioners, at Albany, sent word that they could obtain no provisions; small-pox broke out at the Fork; and the Indians found it impossible to make canoes. (Winthrop's Journal, ib., pp. 195–6, confirming the French accounts; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 513–4; De la Potherie, iii., pp. 126–7; Letter of Mgr. de Laval, Nov. 20, 1690.) Allyn to Leisler, Doc. Hist., ii., p. 160, says the Indians refused to accompany them, or furnish canoes, though Leisler denies it. (Col. Doc., iii., p. 753.) Winthrop, then, on the 13th, called a council of war, which concluded to fall back. (Journal, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 196; Doc. Hist., ii., pp. 162, 169; Hist. Mag., i., p. 229.) The next day he sent out Captain John Schuyler with forty Christians and one hundred Indians (Doc. Hist., ii., pp. 160–2); and, returning to the Fork, broke up his camp, and marched back to the Half-Moon, near Albany, where he turned over the command to Captain Fitch, and went to Albany. (Journal, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 196.) He does not mention that Leisler there arrested him, and put him in prison. (Allyn to Leisler, September, 1690, N. Y. Doc. Hist., ii., p. 162), accusing him of cowardice (Hist. Mag., i., p. 229) and treachery (Letter to Bradstreet, Sept. 15, 1690; Hutchinson, i., p. 134), as well as of adultery and other crimes. The Indians interfered; and, at their request, Leisler released him, and allowed him to go to New York to make his defense. (Leisler to Shrewsbury, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 753.

Winthrop was a son of Governor John Winthrop, of Connecticut. He was born, March 14, 1639; was sent to England, in 1694, as agent of the colony; and was Governor from 1698 to his death, Nov. 27, 1707.

For the French statements of the losses of the English and their Indian allies, see post and notes.

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., 1689–90, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 480; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 99.

[2] De la Potherie calls him Manitouchagan.

1690. we were compelled to take up the hatchet again, without any reason being given. We could make nothing of all this fickleness, and were still more surprised at the want of vigor shown in carrying on the war. At last, fearing that the French, hard pushed to defend themselves, would leave us to be crushed, in their inability to give us aid, we felt bound to look to our own security. We accordingly sent and received propositions; but this negotiation came to no head. The first of our ambassadors died among the Senecas;[1] the others returned Michillimakinac, without coming to any definite conclusion. At this juncture, we learned of the return of our old Father; and as soon as he made known his will, we banished all thoughts of making terms with the Iroquois, and have come down to learn more explicitly our Father' intentions."[2]

As soon as he ceased speaking, the Huron orator[3] rose, and said that, for his part, "he had never forsaken the French alliance, or the obedience he owed to his Father, to whom he was resolved to be ever faithful, come what might." Men knew what was to be thought of this protestation; but it was no time to make reproaches, and no answer was made. All the other Indians declared that they shared the opinions expressed by these, and de Frontenac was much indebted to Louis Atherihata for giving occasion to this little explanation. He broke up the conference, lest it should degenerate into a wrangle, and said that, as soon as he had repulsed the enemy from his territory, every one could return home.

The next day the scouts came in, reporting that they had seen nothing, and observed no trails. On this, the army was disbanded till further orders, and the settlers went to hurry in their crops, as to which there was consid-

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[1] He is called in French, La Petite Racine. De la Potherie, iii., 99; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 480.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 99; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 480.

[3] This chief, called "The Baron," was a traitor, and joined the English.

erable anxiety.[1] Two days after, an Iroquois party fell on a neighbood, called La Souche,[2] only three-quarters of a mile from the spot where the army had encamped. They found the settlers and some soldiers scattered in the fields reaping, although orders had been given to be constantly on the alert and near enough to help each other. Most of them were indeed unarmed, and the commandant of that quarter had even neglected to post sentinels, as had been expressly directed.

1690.

Some French allow themselves to be surprised.

Still, some made a resolute defense, and the Iroquois lost six men. On the French side there were ten soldiers, eleven settlers, and four women, taken or killed; many cattle slaughtered, and houses and hay-stacks burned.[3] The enemy flattered themselves that they would not stop here in this work; but, perceiving a considerable force advancing from Montreal, they regained the woods. This party was only a detachment from the army discovered by La Plaque, the fate of which we shall see in due season. The Count de Frontenac was quite nettled at having so easily credited his scouts, and experienced such a reverse before the eyes of his allies. He felt all the danger that he would have incurred, had the whole force of the enemy then fallen on him.

On the 4th of September, the very day of this adventure, the General assembled the Indians for the last time, as they

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 481; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 101. The scouts actually passed an Iroquois force. Ib.

[2] La Fourche. De la Potherie, iii., p. 101; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 481.

[3] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 481; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 101–2. Captain John Schuyler's Journal makes his force forty-two whites, and one hundred and twenty-five Indians. They saw the French leave their camp, and attacked the men in the fields. (Aug. 23, O. S., Sept. 4, N. S.) They took nineteen prisoners and six scalps, "among which were four women folk." They killed one hundred and fifty head of cattle. He mentions only one Indian killed on his side. They killed two French prisoners on the homeward march. (See, also, Leisler's Letter, Sept. 30, 1690, Doc. Hist., ii., p. 169.) Milet, Relation, p. 47, makes this a detachment from the force which was to march from Lake George.

1690. earnestly asked to be dismissed; he told them that they should be satisfied with the prices at which they had been supplied with goods; that he would have done more in their favor had he been notified sooner of their coming; that, on the whole, if heretofore they had complained of the high price of our goods, the French could justly reproach them in turn; that he approved every thing said in his name by his envoy Perrot; that they should be convinced that their interest required them to make war upon the Iroquois; that, for his part, he would not lay down the hatchet till that nation was humbled; that he exhorted them to harass it, unceasingly, till they were in a position to go and attack them in their own country; that they knew what he had already done against the English; that he was resolved not to give them a moment's respite; that he had thought it right to begin with them, because they were the prime movers of the troubles; that, by his orders, they had spared the Mohawks at Schenectady in the hope that they would yield to the exhortations of Oureouharé; but that, inasmuch as they continued to abuse his lenity, he was going to push them to the wall. He supported his words by very fine presents and that engaging manner which he could assume so well when he wished to gain any one, and the Indians set out very well-satisfied with him and with all the French.

M. de Frontenac dismisses the Indians.

New checks from the Iroquois.

A few days after their departure, the Iroquois appeared in several places, and again surprised Frenchmen who imagined them far enough away. The Sieur des Marais, a seconded captain, who commanded Fort Chateaugué, above Sault St. Louis, having gone out into the fields with his valet and a soldier, fell into an ambuscade laid for him by three of those Indians, who each picked his man, and killed all three.[1] On the 22d of September the Chevallier de la Motte and the Sieur Murat, lieutenant, were at-

[1] De Monseignat, Relation de ce qui s'est passé, &c., 1689–90, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 481–2; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 103–110. They represent only Desmarais as killed.

tacked by a more numerous party than that under their command; they repulsed it, nevertheless; but the Indians having returned to the charge at a time when the French officers supposed them in full retreat, the Chevalier de la Motte was killed on the spot, and it was never after known what became of Sieur Murat.[1] 1690.

Frontenac's reproach to Ourcouharé

In his mortification at this unwelcome news, Frontenac called Oureouharé; and, after briefly explaining to him the course which he had pursued toward his nation—both during his former administration and since his return from France—said he thought he could have flattered himself, that at least gratitude for the benefits which he had personally bestowed on him, would have induced him to open the eyes of his countrymen; and that he must be either quite insensible to his kindness, if he had been wanting in this duty; or was but lightly esteemed by his nation, if he had been unable to make them adopt ideas more reasonable and more conformable to their real interests.

The Indian's reply

The Iroquois seemed mortified at these words, of which he felt all the force, but he contained himself nevertheless; and, without evincing the least annoyance, begged the General to remember that on his return from France he found the Cantons bound by an alliance with the English, which it was not easy to break, and so envenomed against the French, whose treachery had, so to say, driven them to contract that alliance, that it had been necessary to trust to time and circumstances for a more favorable disposition; that, for his own part, he could reproach himself with nothing; his refusal to return to his canton, where he was passionately desired, should have banished every suspicion of his fidelity; if, notwithstanding so unmistakable a token of his attachment to the French, they were so unjust as to entertain any suspicions, he would soon dispel them.[2]

[1] In Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 213, he is styled La Motte de Lussière, Seigneur de la Lussaudière. The Seigneury still bearing his name is in Buckingham County, and was granted to him, July 26, 1683. Bouchette, Topographical Description, p. 324, xxix.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, iii., p. 103, &c.

1690. This reply almost made Frontenac repent his ill-humor, and the distrust it had inspired; he gave some marks of friendship to Oureouharé, and resolved to devote himself more than ever to secure so reasonable a man, from whom he was satisfied he could obtain important services; but he soon had other matters to attend to. On the 10th of October, as he was preparing to return to Quebec, an officer, who had left that capital the day before,[1] handed him two letters from Mr. Provôt, Major of the fort, and Commandant in his absence, there being then no King's Lieutenant in Canada. The first, dated the 5th, stated that an Abénaqui had just brought in word that thirty vessels had sailed from Boston; and it was positively stated that their object was to lay siege to Quebec.[2]

An English fleet prepares to besiege Quebec.

This Indian, to whose zeal and diligence New France was, in part, indebted for its salvation, had come in twelve days from Pescadoué;[3] he further informed Mr. Provôt that the English fleet had been six weeks at sea. The Major's second letter, dated the 7th, stated that the Sieur de Canonville had notified him that he had perceived, near

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He writes "Auriouaé." Colden's form is "Tawerahet—Therawaet." (Hist. of the Five Nations, London, 1747, pp. 97, 111, 121.) Another English form is "Taweerat." (N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 560.) For the other French forms, see O'Callaghan's Index, N.Y. Col. Doc., *verbo* "Orehaoué."

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 482, says the messenger left Quebec the 7th. Account sent in La Fleur de Mai. (Ib., p. 455.) Frontenac to Seignelay, Nov., 20. (Ib., 921.) In his errata, Charlevoix alters the name of the Mayor of Quebec to Provôt, and so gives it, subsequently, in the text. De la Potherie does not give his name (iii., p. 111). Monseignat says Provost. (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 482.) Also Denonville. (Ib., pp. 307–328.) Charlevoix would not have made the alteration, unless required. Langevin, Notes sur les Archives de Notre Dame de Beauport, Quebec, 1860, Part I., p. 39, gives his name as Francis Provost. Denonville spoke of him as the most upright man he found in Canada. His name appears as Town Major of Quebec as early as 1673 (N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 97); and Le Clercq says (Etablissement, ii., p. 400) that he held the office twenty years; he lauds his wisdom and valor. In 1698 he is called King's Lieutenant.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 483; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 111; Frontenac to the Minister, November 12, 1690; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 459; Canada Doc., II., v., p. 127.

[3] More probably "Pentagouet."

Tadoussac, twenty-four English vessels, eight of which seemed to him very large. The Major added that, on this information, he had detached his brother-in-law, the Sieur de Grandville, with a biscayenne [1] and a well-armed canoe to obtain more certain intelligence. 1690.

Why M. de Frontenac was surprised.

The Governor-General had some hesitation in crediting that such a formidable fleet was so near, without his having had the slightest hint of its equipping at Boston. He nevertheless embarked at once with Mr. de Champigny in a small vessel, in which they were well nigh lost;[2] and the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a second courier from Mr. Provôt informed him that the Demoiselles de la Lande and Joliet had been taken near Tadoussac by a fleet of thirty-four sails, which might well be, at the time he was writing, at Isle-aux-Coudres: that is to say, within fifteen leagues of Quebec.[3]

What had contributed most to deceive Frontenac, and tranquilize him in regard to Quebec, was that he believed the English fully occupied on the coast of Acadia, which he had more than one reason to suppose their object. The fact was true; but he erred in supposing that Acadia would delay the English longer than it actually did. Moreover, he could not persuade himself that sufficient force could be sent out of Boston to attack, at the same time, all New France; still less that Acadia had been reduced, and that the conquerors could bring him the first intelligence.

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[1] A *biscayenne* was a boat, sharp at bow and stern; sometimes with masts even, but always adapted for oars.

[2] Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 459; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 318.

[3] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 483, says the second courier met him at 2 P. M., at St. Ours, fifteen leagues from Montreal, and reported thirty-three vessels. Demoiselle was a title then of married ladies. The Demoiselle Joliet, here mentioned, was the wife of Louis Joliet, the companion of Marquette. (La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 210.) Frontenac's letter makes the courier arrive earlier. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 459; Account sent by La Fleur de Mai (Ib., p. 455); Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 417.

1690. This evil came from his not being sufficiently informed of the wretched state of that province. We have seen that four ships, clearing from the port of Boston, had appeared in sight of Casco Bay, at the moment when that fort had just surrendered to Mr. de Portneuf.[1] It was afterward known at Quebec that these ships, arriving too late to relieve Casco Bay, had made sail for Port Royal. Frontenac had received, in the month of July, a confirmation of this intelligence;[2] but he was not in a position to relieve that place in case of attack; nor, apparently, did he believe it destitute of troops, provisions, and ammunition to the point it actually was.

Position in which Acadia then was.

Nevertheless, de Manneval, Governor of Acadia, who ordinarily resided at Port Royal, had a garrison of only eighty-six men and eighteen pieces of artillery, which were not even mounted. The last fortifications erected at the place were so insignificant, that they could not protect it against an assault,[3] and they were in absolute need of every thing. The other posts were still less fortified, and as ill provided. Moreover, most of the French settlements, even more scattered than those on the St. Lawrence, were absolutely without defense.

It is attacked by the English.

Such was the situation of Acadia, when, on the 22d of May, 1690,[4] a soldier and two settlers, who were on guard at the mouth of the basin of Port Royal, perceived two English ships, crowding sail to enter. They, at once, fired a *boëte*,[5] the signal prescribed to notify the Governor, and embarked in all haste in a canoe. They reached the fort about eleven o'clock at night; and, on their report, de

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[1] Ante, p. 136. See Mather's Magnalia, Book ii., p. 47.

[2] Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 401.

[3] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 474, and De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 84, say between sixty and eighty. The commander, Robineau de Menneval, was a brother to the Baron de Bekancourt and to de Villebon.

[4] De Menneval to de Seignelay, May 29, 1690 (in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 921), says that they arrived, May 19.

[5] Apparently, a *bôite de rejouissance*, a small cannon, set up vertically and plugged when fired—noise being the object.

Manneval at once fired a cannon to notify the settlers to assemble at his quarters. 1690.

On the 20th, the English squadron, consisting of a forty-gun frigate, a vessel of sixteen, a third of eight guns, and four ketches, anchored half a league from Port Royal; and the Admiral, William Phibs, an adventurer, whose merit was proportionate to his early condition of carpenter, sent his boat to the fort, with a trumpeter, to summon the Governor to surrender his post, with all it contained, without any capitulation.[1]

De Manneval retained the trumpeter; and, for lack of officers, sent Mr. Petit,[2] priest of the Seminary of Quebec, who acted as his chaplain, to obtain at least tolerable conditions from the English General; for, from the outset, he saw how useless it would be to attempt a defense with so few soldiers, poorly armed, discouraged, without a single officer, and unable to rely on the settlers, only three of whom came up in answer to his signal for assembling. He had absolutely no one to mount and work his cannon; and, besides, he had been, for two months, racked with gout, and was assured that the enemy had eight hundred land troops on board.[3]

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 474, gives this briefly. Sir William Phipps, son of James Phipps, a gunsmith from Bristol, was born in what is now Phippsburg, Maine; became a ship-carpenter and builder at Sheepscot and Boston. Went to sea in 1677; after one failure succeeded in raising a Spanish treasure ship, by which he obtained £16,000 and knighthood from James II., in June, 1687. Andros made him Sheriff of New England. He was made Governor of Massachusetts in 1692, recalled for violence in 1695, and died in London, February 18, 1695. He sailed from Nantasket, April 28, 1690, O. S., and reached Port Royal, May 11. Mather's Magnalia, Book ii., p. 47.

[2] Rev. Louis Petit, born at Rouen, in 1629, came out as a captain in the Regiment Carignan Salières; but, renouncing the career of arms, studied at the Seminary of Quebec, and was ordained, Dec. 21, 1670. He was chaplain at Sorel, from 1672, to '76, and sent to Acadia in 1677. Phipps carried him to Boston; but he returned to Port Royal the same year, and continued his labors till 1700, at Quebec and Ancienne Lorette. He died at the Seminary of Quebec, June 3, 1709, aged eighty years. Taschereau, Memoir on the Quebec Seminary Missions in Acadia, Ms.; 200e Anniv. du Sem. de Quebec, p. 44; St. Valier, Etat Présent.

[3] Histoire Géographique de la Nouvelle Ecosse, p. 111.

1690.

The Governor surrenders by capitulation.

William Phibs at first declared to Mr. Petit, that he must have the Governor, his garrison, and all the settlers at discretion. The ecclesiastic resolutely answered that Mr. de Manneval would die sooner than be guilty of such cowardice. Phibs then asked whether he came prepared to offer any propositions, and the reply was that he had orders to say that Port Royal would be surrendered to him on the following conditions: First, that the Governor and soldiers should march out with arms and baggage, and be taken to Quebec, in a vessel to be furnished them; second, that the settlers should be preserved and maintained in the peaceful possession of all their property, and that the honor of the women, married or unmarried, should be protected; third, that all should have the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and that the Church should not be touched.[1]

To all appearance, Phibs had already come to a resolution to grant every thing, and hold to nothing. The ease with which he consented to Mr. Petit's requirements, and his subsequent conduct leave scarcely any room for doubt. It is certain that he raised no difficulties; but when the ecclesiastic proposed to him to put the capitulation in writing, he refused, saying that his word as General was worth more than all the writings in the world. It was in vain for Mr. Petit to insist; he could get no more.[2]

Mr. de Manneval was not even as difficult as his envoy. Immediately after the latter's return, he wrote to the English General that he abided by the terms agreed upon, and that if he would send his boat the next day, he would go on board to meet him, and give a convincing proof of the frankness with which he acted. Phibs sent his boat, the Governor embarked, the capitulation was orally confirmed in the presence of the Sieur des Gouttins, King's Scrivener, acting as Commissaire Ordonnateur at Port Royal, and the

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[1] De Menneval to Seignelay, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 921.

[2] In spite of Rev. Mr. Petit's efforts, a memoir (Canada Doc., III., i., p. 212) ascribes the capture of Port Royal to him.

English General added that he left it to Mr. de Manneval's choice, to be taken with all his garrison to France, or to Quebec. 1690.

The Governor stated that he would prefer to go to France, and Phibs promised to send him thither. All being thus concluded, de Manneval and the English Admiral landed. The former handed the keys of the fort to the latter, and made him master of the place. When he saw the actual condition of Port Royal, Phibs seemed much astonished, and repented having granted such honorable conditions to men so little able to make any defense; he nevertheless dissembled till he found a pretext for violating a capitulation which he pretended had been extorted from him by surprise.

The capitulation is not kept.

He did not seek one long: for learning that, while the Governor was on board, some drunken soldiers and settlers had taken something from a store belonging to Mr. Perrot, de Manneval's predecessor as Governor of Acadia, he declared that, as what had been taken belonged to the King, his master, he felt himself no longer bound to adhere to what he had promised. He then began by disarming the soldiers, and confined them all in the church; he even demanded of Messrs. de Manneval and des Gouttins their swords, which he, nevertheless, at once restored, informing them, however, that they were his prisoners. He assigned the Governor his own house as a prison, and set a sentinel there; robbed him of all his money, and even of his clothes; gave up all the houses to pillage, because, he said, he knew that the farmers had concealed all their best things; and did not even spare the priest's house, nor the church, where his men committed great impieties.[1]

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 475; De Menneval to Seignelay (Ib., p. 921). The date of the capture is given as May 21. De Menneval, with Rev. Messrs. Petit and Trouvé, were carried to Boston. (De la Potherie, iii., p. 85.) Bradstreet to Leisler, May 20, 1690, O. S., mentions the arrival of Sir William Phipps at Boston on that day, with de Menneval, two priests, and about sixty soldiers, with plunder. He alludes to the "crosses and images broken down." N. Y. Doc. Hist., ii., p. 146. Known in Quebec only in Aug. Juchereau, p. 317.

1690.

Mr. Perrot is pursued by the English.

Some days before Mr. Perrot—who, after losing the office of Governor of Acadia, had remained in that province for his private affairs—had embarked in a ketch with the Sieur Duclos, his clerk, with the view of trading along the coast. On the 27th of May, as he was returning to Port Royal, unconscious that the English were in possession, he was—fortunately for him—detained by a head-wind at the mouth of the bay. Then, not seeing the usual sentinel, he suspected something, and got into a canoe with Mr. Damour, a Canadian gentleman, and an Indian, to ascertain what had happened. After advancing three leagues, he perceived an English ship at anchor in the river, on which the town was built, and heard the report of several cannon and volleys of musketry.

Believing that an action was going on, he hid his canoe in the woods, and went on foot to the first house, which he found abandoned. Retiring in haste, he jumped into his canoe, and pushed off to his ketch, which he found in the basin. It had already attracted the attention of two Englishmen, who, learning of his return, awaited him, and had embarked in a sloop to board him; but, as the tide was falling, the sloop, which was not far from the shore, grounded. Perrot profited by this accident; and, after avoiding a canoe, which also pursued him for some time, he reached his ketch, hoisted sail, and left the basin. The English ship, which he had perceived, having also observed him, gave him chase; but, seeing it fruitless, sailed back into port, and Mr. Perrot entered Port des Mines.

Mr. Villebon arrives at Port Royal, and finds the English no longer there.

On the 14th of June, the Chevalier de Villebon, captain, one of the sons of the Baron of Bekancourt, arrived from France at Port Royal, his company being in Acadia. There he found Messrs. Perrot and des Gouttins, and from them learned that Admiral Phibs had remained there only twelve days; that he had carried off Mr. de Manneval, a sergeant, and thirty-eight soldiers, with Mr. Petit and

another ecclesiastic, named Mr. Trouvé;[1] that before his departure he assembled the colonists, and administered to them an oath of fidelity to the sovereigns of England, William and Mary; that he had set up his first sergeant, one Chevalier, as Commandant of Port Royal, and six of the prominent settlers to administer justice as councillors. 1690.

This information greatly embarrassed the Chevalier de Villebon. He had brought with him from France the Sieur Saccardie, an engineer, and consulted with that officer, Perrot, and des Gouttins, what was to be done at this juncture to save the rest of a colony, of which he was alone in charge, and to put beyond danger the royal stores that he had brought from France. What disturbed him most was that the English were still in Port de la Héve, where, in less than three days, they might be informed of his arrival; and he was by no means in a position to resist them, in case they returned to attack him in Port Royal.

All things maturely considered, it was unanimously resolved to retire to St. John's River, where the Chevalier de Grandfontaine had built a fort at a place called Jemset, or Jembac;[2] to transport to it what belonged to the King and the Company; to rally there all the soldiers they could—several of whom had escaped from the hands of the English, or managed not to fall into them; to order the Sieur de Montorgueil, lieutenant in Villebon's company, who was at Chedabouctou with a detachment of fourteen soldiers, to join his captain at Jemset; and, when all this was done, to erect a stone fort at the same place, and thence send all possible aid to the Indians, and encourage them to continue the war, which they kept up with constant activity against the English. In fact, these

[1] See ante vol. iii., p. 110.

[2] In his errata, Charlevoix corrects this to "Jemsac." Ante vol. iii., p. 188, he writes "Gemesie." In the Proces Verbal, of taking possession in 1670 (Mem. de Commissaires, ii., p. 323), it is "Gemisick," and said to be twenty-five leagues up the river. It was then a mere block-house, forty paces by thirty. It was on the east bank of the river, opposite the present Gagetown, N. B.

1690. Indians incessantly overran New England, nowhere scarcely meeting any resistance. It was even just announced that forty Abénaquis had but recently defeated six hundred Englishmen in open battle, losing only six of their men, and one Canadian, Bellefont, who, after distinguishing himself greatly at the siege of Casco Bay, had joined this troop of braves.

Exploit of the Sieur de Montorgueil.

In consequence of this deliberation, orders were sent to de Montorgueil to evacuate Chedabouctou, which he could not dream of defending against the English fleet, and to bury all the cannon that he could not bring off; but that officer was no longer on this post, having sallied forth by a more glorious gateway than that prescribed for him. Admiral Phibs, after making some stay at La Héve, had proceeded to Chedabouctou; and, landing eighty men, had summoned the Commandant to surrender at discretion.[1]

To this summons Montorgueil replied, that he would be buried beneath the ruins of his fort rather than surrender it to the enemies of his royal master; and his little garrison promised to sustain him with all their might. Phibs twice sent back his trumpeter to show him the folly of any effort against so powerful a force; the answer was constantly the same. He then ordered an attack, which was briskly made, but failed. This unexpected resistance either heightened his esteem for so brave a man, or made him dread the disgrace of a repulse before a "shell," defended by a handful of soldiers. He made a fourth summons, adding threats, which he deemed most likely to intimidate Montorgueil; but it was as useless as the rest.

Then he threw matches, which set fire to a thatched building. In spite of all the efforts of the garrison, the fire spread. Phibs seized the moment to summon him

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[1] Lieut. de Montorgueil to Seigneulay, Sept. 16, 1690, says June 13, 4, P. M. See De la Potherie, iii., p. 89.

twice more, and Montorgueil, seeing that he could not prevent the place from being reduced to ashes, thought that he might capitulate; but he did it with so much haughtiness, and showed so stern a resolve to make the enemy pay dearly for their trifling victory, if they did not grant him honorable terms, that he obtained all he wished. He, accordingly, marched out at the head of his garrison, with arms and baggage, and was conveyed to Placentia.[1] 1690.

There being settlers at Chedabouctou, Montorgueil had not overlooked their interests, and the English acted fairly by them; but Isle Percée, which they next visited, did not fare so well. Meeting no resistance, Phibs pillaged all the houses, and unworthily profaned the church.[2] On the other hand, the Chevalier de Villebon had embarked for St. John's River, on the ship Union, which had brought him from France; but, being long detained at the mouth of that river by headwinds, two English pirates, who were in pursuit of him, had time to overtake him. On the 30th of June, while the Chevalier was making his way in a canoe to Jemset, two English ships appeared in sight of the Union, which lay anchored at the mouth of the river.

Perrot was on board. As soon as he perceived the enemy he sprung his cables to ground the vessel; he then ranged his eight cannon on the side opposite to the English, and for some time kept up a brisk fire; but as the English fire was superior, and he had but few men with him, he thought it a duty to see to his own safety, because the enemy had a grudge against him personally. He accordingly embarked in his boat with most of his men; and, in spite of the enemy's cannonade, which only wounded a single sailor, he reached land. The Union, on which Mr. Saccardi had remained almost alone, was then forced to strike, and that engineer was made a prisoner of war.

[1] He surrendered June 14, 1690. Montorgueil to Seignelay, Sept. 16, 1690. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 921. Relation, &c., 1689–90. Ib., p. 477. De la Potherie, iii., p. 89.

[2] Father Emanuel Jumeau, Recollect to Le Clercq, Oct. 15, 1690. The church was destroyed in August, with infamous excesses. Relation de la Gaspésie, p. 7. De la Potherie, iii., p. 90.

1690. Mr. Perrot's lot was still more unfortunate. The Sieur des Gouttins and the captain of the Union had escaped with him; but although they all took the same route to reach Jemset, des Gouttins, after a time, found himself alone, without knowing what had become of the rest. During this time the Chevalier de Villebon, after visiting Jemset, was returning to the sea in his canoe. On the way he learned not only the loss of the Union, but also that of his two ketches, in which he had discharged all the cargo of that vessel. He expected a reinforcement of Indians, whom he had summoned, and indulged the hope that, with their aid, he might recover the two ketches; but they arrived too late.

At the same time he learned that the two ships which had taken the Union, were not of Admiral Phibs' squadrons, but two pirates, carrying ninety men; that they had on board nine settlers from the Island of Mariegalante, which they had pillaged; that they had entered Port Royal, landed these planters there, burnt all the houses leading to the fort, killed a number of cattle, hung two farmers, and burned a woman and her children in her house; that, after capturing the Union, they had landed men to pursue those who escaped; that Mr. Perrot, the captain of the ship, and the pilot, had fallen into their hands; that they had treated the former in the most shameful manner, apparently to force him to tell where he had conceealed his money and property; finally, that a part of the Union's sailors, the surgeon, and two soldiers had joined them to cruise, and that they were to sail within two days.[1]

His Recapture. Neither this sad intelligence, nor the fear of a fate like Mr. Perrot's, restrained the Chevalier from descending to the sea with the few Indians who had joined him at Jemset. On arriving he perceived the two pirates, anchored near the shore; he landed, and, favored by the woods, approached close enough to fire on them, which he continued to do without respite till evening. During the

[1] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 85. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 477.

next night forty more Indians joined him, and these he led at daybreak to the spot whence he had fired the previous night on the pirates. His object was to prevent their weighing anchor, and the Indians had promised to go and cut their cables, so as to make them run aground; but he found that they had gone, and were sailing westward.[1] It was afterward ascertained that the pirate vessel, on which Mr. Perrot was, was taken by a French freebooter; and it is certain that this gentleman found, amid the wreck of his fortune, means to settle his family advantageously.[2] 1690

Meanwhile the Chevalier de Villebon, seeing nothing more to be done on the sea coast, again went up to Jemset, where, having assembled the Indians, he exhorted them to continue to revenge on the English their own wrongs and those of the French. He explained to them that what he most regretted was the loss of his ketches, on which he had the presents sent them by the king; and he begged them, if they took any important prisoners, to use them in order to withdraw from the hands of the English the French who had just been captured. He added that he was going to Quebec, with the view of reembarking thence for France, where he would report to the king all that they had done for his service, and whence he would bring wherewith to compensate them for their recent loss; that they should not fail to be at the mouth of the river the next spring, and there await tidings of him. They replied that their Father Ononthio had sent them powder and balls, that this was enough for the present, and that they were about to start, to the number of a hundred and fifty, to renew their raids; that they would give him a good account of the English, and begged him to be convinced that the losses of the French affected them more than their own. They left him with these assurances, and he immediately started for Quebec, to

Disinterested zeal and fidelity of the Abenaquis.

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 475.

[2] He left two daughters, who are now the Countess de la Roche Allard, and the wife of President de Luber *Charlevoix.*

1690. which he bore the first tidings of the English irruption into Acadia, and the capture of the governor.

Condition of Newfoundland at the commencement of this year.

There they had already learned the reverse sustained by the French colony in Newfoundland. The court of France, as I have elsewhere remarked, after long neglecting this island, through ignorance of its value, had, at last, been convinced of the advantage to be derived from its codfisheries. The king, informed of the necessity of fortifying the port of Placentia, and erecting on that side a barrier to the continual usurpations of the English on the posts occupied by his subjects, had sent the Sieur de la Poype there as governor, and he had given orders to put him in a position to maintain himself in a post of that importance.

These orders were not too well executed; Mr. de la Poype served thirteen years with all possible zeal, but with all the annoyance that want of proper succor can cause a brave man, who feels the need of support, and who, for want of it, can undertake absolutely nothing, either for his own glory, or the good of the state. He was succeeded in 1685 by the Sieur Parat, who was not better treated at first; but two years after the Chevalier d'Hervaux and Mr. d'Amblimont brought him twenty-five soldiers, commanded by the Sieur Pastour de Costebelle, with provisions, cannon, powder, and all that was needed to revictual and fortify Placentia. A fort was built, and at the entrance of the harbor, a platform covering the anchorage: these two works had nineteen pieces mounted. Care was taken to arm the settlers, on whom much more dependence was placed than on the soldiers. In fine, this colony needed only a commander vigilant enough to beware of surprise, or enough a man of honor not to surrender the place to the enemies of France; but they were deceived in their choice, and, as often happens, discovered their error only when it was too late to remedy it.

On the 25th of February in this year, 1690, the Governor and his lieutenant were surprised outside their fort in

their beds by forty-five English freebooters. The soldiers, who were also dispersed hither and thither, were taken and disarmed. The settlers, who had had all opportunity to assume the defensive, surrendered on the threat made by the enemy, that they would massacre the prisoners at the least resistance; and the English loaded their vessel with all the goods, furniture, arms, ammunition, provisions and fishing implements, with which the inhabitants were pretty well supplied. Some of the cannon were also carried off, others thrown into the sea, the rest spiked; and when, after the raid, the prisoners were set at liberty the garrison and inhabitants of Placentia found themselves in about the same position as if they had been shipwrecked on a desert coast.[1] 1690.

After the departure of the enemy, the Sieur Parat wished to proceed to France on some one of the Basque vessels fishing off the coast; but all refused to receive him. He transported himself, with three sailors and as many soldiers, to the island of St. Pierre, where he found some St. Malo ships that gave him passage. The Sieur de Costebelle, left commandant at Placentia, thought it his duty to labor incessantly to fortify his position, and he notified the settlers to join him; one of them, however, Andrew Doyen, refused to obey, and even killed a corporal and two soldiers, who attempted to compel him.[2]

To judge the Governor of Placentia only by what occurred at the capture of his place, he could be accused of no more than a very culpable negligence; but there were far other charges against him, and his precipitate departure without royal permission, gave room to believe that he was not innocent of all imputed to him. On his side he cited his return to France as an irrefragable proof of his innocence. He threw all the fault on the Basques, who, after revolting against him, had begged affidavits to ruin

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[1] Friar Joseph Denis to the Minister, Aug. 28, 1690, Canada Doc. iii., p. 91

[2] Pastour to the Minister, Aug. 28, Sept. 13, 1690. Canada Doc., pp. 95, 101.

1690. him, or, at least, to put him on his defence, deprive him of all credit, and thereby escape the chastisement which they deserved. I have been unable to learn the decision in the case.[1]

Frontenac arrives at Quebec.

Be that as it may, there is every reason to believe that the pillage of Placentia, and even the loss of Acadia, had they been informed of it in Canada before receiving intelligence of the arrival of the English at Tadoussac, would not have seemed to the Governor-General sufficient reason to believe that he would be himself attacked, without being warned in sufficient season to make preparation. It is, at least, certain that had information of the enemy's approach been delayed three days later, he might have found Admiral Phibs in the capital, when he arrived there himself, and that, had not the English fleet been so violently baffled by the winds, or had better pilots, Quebec would have been taken before they knew at Montreal that it was besieged.

But it must be agreed that no surprise ever did more honor to a general, or redounded more to the shame of the one who should have profited by it. The first step of de Frontenac, on receiving the second courier from Mr. Provôt, was to dispatch de Ramezay, Governor of Three Rivers, to the Chevalier de Callieres, to order him to descend to Quebec as quickly as possible with all his troops, except a few companies, whom he was to leave to guard Montreal, and to direct all the inhabitants, whom he could collect on the road, to follow him.[2]

He then marched to Quebec without halting, and reached it on the 14th of October, at ten o'clock in the evening. There he learned that the English fleet was just below the traverse of Isle Orleans.[3] He was perfectly satisfied with

[1] Parat to the Minister, Sept. 6, 1690. Ib., p. 97.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p 483. Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690. Ib., p. 459. Canada Doc., iv., p. 128. Account sent by La Fleur de Mai. Ib., p. 455, De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 112. La Hontan, Voyages i., p. 210–211.

[3] Phips then took this channel; that now used, was first tried by d'Iberville. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii. p. 229.

the state in which the major had put the place. That officer had ordered in a large number of settlers, who showed great confidence and resolution; and, although he had had only five days to work on the fortifications, there was not a weak spot in the town where he had not provided in a manner to relieve him from all fear of sudden attack. 1690

The general also added some intrenchments, which he deemed necessary, and confirmed the judicious orders given by the major to the captains of the militia companies of Beaupré, Beauport, Isle Orleans, and the Côte de Lauson, which covered Quebec on the harbor side, not to leave their posts till they saw the enemy land and attack the main works of Quebec, in which case they were to hold themselves ready to march where summoned.[1] Disposition for defending the city.

Mr. de Longueil, eldest son of the Sieur le Moyne, had gone with a body of Huron and Abénaqui Indians to watch the movements of the fleet; all the advanced eminences down the river were well manned; the settlers everywhere evinced an earnest desire to do their duty; the English could not send a boat ashore without finding the bank lined with musketeers, who would at once force them to sheer off. Besides, there were constantly pouring into the city militia from Montreal and Three Rivers as full of good will as those from the vicinity of the Capital.[2]

On the 15th the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, commandant of the forces, set out early in the morning with a hundred men on a reconnoissance, prepared to engage the enemy, if he attempted a landing; but the Count de Frontenac expressly recommended to him not to lose sight of the enemy, and to report all their movements, a commission which he discharged perfectly.[3] To this precaution the

[1] Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 459.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 417. Le Clercq, ii., p. 417.

[3] Ib: Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 416, says that De Villebon who had come through the woods to Quebec and aided to fortify it, accompanied this party of 120 men.

1690

Forecast of M. de Frontenac.

General added another not less necessary. Vessels were expected from France, and it was to be feared that they would, mistrusting nothing, rush blindly into the hands of the English. Frontenac, alive to everything, and maintaining, amid the confusion of a surprise, a wonderful presence of mind, on the same day dispatched two canoes, well equipped, by the little channel of Isle Orleans, with orders to those whom he sent, to go as far as they could to meet these vessels and notify them of what was going on. He at the same time also commenced, and the next day completed, an eight-gun battery on the height beside the fort.[1]

Fortifications of the place.

Thus the fortifications began at the palace, on the bank of the little river St. Charles, ran along to the Upper Town, which they surrounded, and terminated on the mountain towards Cape Diamond. A palisade had been continued from the palace all along the beach to the Seminary wall; there it was closed by inaccessible rocks called the Sailor's Leap,[2] where there was a three gun battery. A second palisade, erected above the first, ended at the same place, and was to cover the fusileers.

The lower town had two batteries, each of three eighteen pounders, and occupying the intervals between those in the upper town. The outlets of the city, where there were no gates, were barricaded with good beams and barrels full of earth to serve as gabions, and pedereroes mounted on top. The road leading from the lower to the upper town, was intersected by three different intrenchments of barrels and bags full of earth, with a sort of chevaux-de-frise.

In the course of the siege a second battery was thrown

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 484.

[2] The Sault au Matelot, was so called from the fact that a dog, called Matelot, or the Sailor, jumped down there. Creuxius, Historia Canadensis, p. 204

[3] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., Mercure Galant, Janv., 1691; Ternaux, Archives des Voyages, ii., p. 431. De la Potherie, iii., p. 113. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 417–420. None of these mention the chevaux de frise.

1690

up at the Sailor's Leap, and a third at the gate leading to the river St. Charles.[1] Finally, some small pieces of ordnance were planted around the upper town, and especially on the mound of a mill which served as a cavalier.[2]

The English fleet anchors before Quebec.

On the 16th, at three o'clock in the morning, de Vaudreuil returned to Quebec, reporting that he had left the English fleet three leagues below the city, anchored at a place called l'Arbre-Sec—the Withered Tree, and in fact, as soon as day broke, it was perceived from the heights; it was composed of thirty-four sail of various sizes, and the rumor ran that it carried three thousand land troops. As it advanced the smaller craft ran along the Côte de Beauport, between Isle Orleans and the Little River, the rest keeping off; all came to anchor about ten o'clock, and at that moment a boat was seen leaving the flagship and steering for the city.[4]

The English Admiral sends to summon the Governor-General.

That it bore a trumpeter no one doubted, as it carried a white flag at the bow. Frontenac sent an officer to meet it; he reached it halfway,[5] bound the trumpeter's eyes and led him to the fort.[6] Great was this man's surprise, when, on the removal of the bandage, he perceived the Governor-General, the Bishop, and Intendant in the

[1] Now called Palace Gate. O'Callaghan, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 485.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Dol. Doc., ix., p. 485. Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 420. This windmill hill was behind St. Louis Street and also called Mt. Carmel. O'Callaghan, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 485. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 220.

Mother Juchereau represents some of these defenses as vessels filled with stones, which, if struck by a cannon-ball, would have killed more than they defended. Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 319.

[3] Phipps attempted to land at River Ouelle, but was repulsed by Rev. Mr. Francheville at the head of his parishioners Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 321. Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 429, Langevin, Archives de N. D. de Beauport, p. 118.

[4] Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 459. Canada Doc., II. v., 129. Account sent by the Fleur de Mai. Ib., p. 455. De Monseignat, Relation, &c., Ib., p. 485. Major Walley's Journal in the Expedition against Canada. Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, i., p. 471, says summons sent Oct. 6, O. S.

[5] The French party went out in canoes and met Phipps' envoy on the water.

[6] Mother Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 322–3 gives a humorous account of his passage through Quebec.

1690 centre of a great hall, which was quite full of officers,[1] but to understand the cause of his astonishment it must be remembered that Mr. Provôt, on the first intelligence of the approach of the English, had sent the Sieur de Grandville, his brother-in-law, to obtain more accurate and detailed information.

That officer, advancing perhaps with too little precaution, or more probably deceived by the French colors on the English vessels, of which he saw only a few, was captured by the admiral, to whom he confessed what was really true, that Quebec was destitute of fortifications, troops, and general.[2] Phibs, who could not doubt the sincerity of this report, and who never dreamed that matters had changed so much in so short a time, had expected to sleep in Quebec the very night that he anchored in the roadstead, and that this place would not cost him dearer than Port Royal had done, expressing his opinion on the matter with a confidence which spread through his whole force.

Before reaching the fort, the trumpeter was enabled to lose some of his, for he was purposely led all around the place, to be stunned by the great activity he heard on all sides, each one taking delight in increasing his confusion, and giving him reason to believe that the whole town was set with caltrops and chevaux-de-frise, and that the enemy could not take twenty steps, without being obliged to storm an intrenchment; but the sight of the Governor-General so well attended, and the demeanor of the officers, completely disconcerted him. He tremblingly presented his summons, which was in writing, and in English, and which was at once interpreted. The following is the translation as transmitted by the Count Frontenac to the

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[1] La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 212, alone mentions the presence of the Bishop and Intendant.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 483, De Grandville had been an ensign in the Regiment Carignan Salieres, and was now a lieutenant. Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 320. Daniel, Nos Gloires Nationales, ii., pp. 274, 282.

Marquis de Seignelay and transcribed by me from the original: 1690

Guillaume Phibs, General de l'Armée Angloise,
à M. de Frontenac:

La guerre déclarée entre les Couronnes d'Angleterre et de France n'est pas le seul motif de l'Enterprise, que j'ai eu ordre de former contre votre colonie. Les ravages et les cruautes exercés par les François et le Sauvages sans aucun sujet contre les Peuples soumis à leur majestés Britanniques ont obligé leurs dites Majestés d'armer pour se rendre Maitres du Canada, afin de pourvoir â la sûreté des Provinces de leur obéissance. Mais comme je serois bien aise d'épargner le sang Chrétien et de vous fair éviter tous les malheurs de la guerre, moi Guillaume Phibs, Che-

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[1] It is inserted here as Charlevoix gives it, inasmuch as it differs somewhat from that given in the account sent to France in the Fleur de Mai. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p., 456, and that given by de Monseignat, (ib., p., 485.) The following is a translation of that given in the text, the part in brackets being in all other copies.

"William Phibs, General of the English Army, to M. de Frontenac:

"The war declared between the crowns of England and France is not the sole motive of the expedition which I have had orders to undertake against your colony. The ravages and cruelties exercised by the French and Indians without any reason, against the nations subject to their Britannic majesties, have forced their said majesties to take up arms to reduce Canada in order to provide for the safety of the colonies subject to them. But as I should be most happy to spare Christian blood and save you from the horrors of war, I, William Phibs, Knight, by these presents, and in the name of their most excellent majesties, William and Mary, king and queen of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, [and by order of their majesties' government of Massachusetts colony in New England], demand that you surrender into my hands, your forts and castles in their actual condition, with all the ammunition and other supplies whatever. I also demand that you restore all prisoners in your hands, and surrender your property and your persons at my disposal. By so doing you may hope that like a good Christian I will pardon the past, so far as shall be deemed expedient for their majesties' service, and the safety of their subjects. But if you undertake to defend yourselves, know that I am in a position to compel you, resolved, with the help of God in whom I put my trust, to avenge by arms the wrongs you have done us, and subject you to the crown of England. Your positive answer in one hour by your trumpeter with the return of mine."

For the original English, see Mather's Magnalia, Book II., page 49.

1690. valier par ces Présentes, et au nom de leur Très Excellentes Majestés Guillaume et Marie, Roy et Reine d'Angleterre, France, Ecosse et Irelande, Défenseurs de la Foy, vous demande que vous ayez à remettre entre mes mains vos Forts et Chateaux, dans l'état on ils sont, avec toutes le munitions et autres provisions quelconques. Je vous demande aussi, que vous me rendiez tous les Prisonniers, que vous avez, et que vous livriez vos biens et vos Personnes à ma disposition ; ce que faisant, vous pouvez esperer, que comme bon Chrétien, je vous pardonnerai le passé, autant qu'il sera jugé à propos pour le service de leurs Majestés et la sûreté de leurs sujets. Mais si vous entreprenez de vous défendre, sçachez que je suis en état de vous forcer, bien resolu, avec l'aide de Dieu, en qui je mets toute ma confiance, à venger par les armes les torts que vous nous avez faits, et de vous assujettir à la Couronne d'Angleterre. Votre réponse positive dans une heure par votre Trompette avec le retour du Mien."[1]

This document was read aloud, and roused the indignation of all present. The trumpeter, as soon as he finished, took from his pocket a watch, and handing it to the Governor General, informed him that it was ten o'clock and that he could not wait for his answer beyond eleven. Then a general outcry arose, and the Sieur de Valrenes raising his voice, said that this insolent fellow should be treated as the messenger of a pirate, the more especially as Phibs was in arms against his lawful sovereign, and had acted at Port Royal like a perfect pirate, violating the capitulation and retaining the Sieur de Manneval as a prisoner against his word and against the law of Nations.[2]

Frontenac, although stung to the quick, evinced greater

[1] This reply is word for word from the Letter to Mr. Seignelay already cited. *Charlevoix.*

[2] De Monseignat; Frontenac in his dispatch and the account sent by the Fleur de Mai; Mother Juchereau, the Ursuline Annals; Le Clercq and La Hontan are all silent as to this episode. La Hontan states that Frontenac ordered the captain of his quarters to put up a gallows to hang the Major who bore the messages. Voyages, i., page 212.

moderation. Without appearing to hear the remarks of De Valrenes, he addressed the trumpeter : 1690.

Mr. de Frontenac's reply

Je ne vous ferai pas attendre si lontems ma reponse, la voici. Je ne connois point le Roy Guillaume ; mais je sçai que le Prince d'Orange est un Usurpateur qui a violé les droits les plus sacrés du sang et de la Religion, en détrônant le Roy, son Beau-Père. Je ne connois point d'autre Souverain legitime de l'Angleterre, que le Roy Jacques II. Le Chevalier Phibs n'a pas dû être surpris des hostilités faites les par François et leurs Alliés, puisqu'il a dû s'attendre que le Roy, mon maitre, ayant reçu le Roy d'Angleterre sous sa protection, m'ordonneroit de porter la guerre chez les Peuples qui sont revoltés contre leur Prince legitime. A-t-il pu croire que quand il m'offriroit des conditions plus tolerables, & que je serois d'humeur à les accepter, tant de braves Gens y voulussent consentir & me conseillassent de me fier à la parole d'un Homme, qui a violé la capitulation, qu'il avoit faite avec le Gouverneur de l'Acadie ; qui a manqué à la fidelité qu'il devoit à son Prince ; qui a oublié tous les bienfaits, dont il a été comblé, pour suivre le parti d'un Etranger, lequel voulant persuader qu'il n'a en vue, que d'être le Liberateur de l'Angleterre, & le defenseur de la Foy, a détruit les Loix et les Privileges du Royaume & renversé l'Eglise Anglicane; c'est ce que la Justice Divine, que Phibs reclame, punira un jour severement."[1]

[1] I will not keep you waiting that long for my answer. Here it is. I know no King William; but I know that the Prince of Orange is a usurper who has violated the most sacred rights of blood and of religion by dethroning the king, his father-in-law. I know no other lawful sovereign of England, than King James II. Sir W. Phibs should not be surprised at the hostilities committed by the French and their allies, for he must have expected that the King, my master, having received the King of England under his protection, would order me to carry on the war upon nations in revolt against their lawful prince. Can he have supposed, that were his conditions more tolerable, and I in a mood to accept them, so many brave men would consent and advise me to trust to the word of a man who has violated the capitulation which he had made with the Governor of Acadia; who has broken the allegiance he owes to his prince; who has forgotten all

1690.

The trumpeter asked this reply in writing, but the General refused to give it, adding: "I will answer your master by the mouth of my cannon. Let him learn that this is not the way to summon a man like me."[1] He then gave the sign to bandage the trumpeter's eyes, and that messenger was taken back to the spot where he had been received. As soon as he reached his vessel, one of the batteries of the lower town opened, to the great astonishment of the English; Phibs, especially; could not recover from his amazement to see himself obliged to besiege in form a city, where he had deluded himself that the French would have the hardihood to await him only to submit.[2]

Exploit of some Canadians.

But it was still worse, when the first cannon-ball carried away his flag and the tide sweeping it down, some Canadians swam out to get it, and in spite of the fire kept up on them, carried it off before the eyes of the whole fleet. It was at once carried to the Cathedral, where it still is.[3] On the same day, the 16th, about four o'clock in

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the favors lavished on him, to follow the party of a foreigner, who, pretending to have in view only to be the Deliverer of England and the Defender of the Faith, has destroyed the laws and privileges of the Kingdom and overthrown the Anglican Church? all this the Divine Justice which Phibs invokes, will one day punish severely." De Monseignat, Relation, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 486. Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 423-5.

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 486. Account by the Fleur de Mai, pp. 456–457. Juchereau' Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 224. Le Clercq, ii., p. 428. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 213. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., i. p. 355, says, "If it (the summons) was too pompous, the answer was too insolent." The insolence seems to be in the summons. As the English at Lachine began the use of Indians to ravage the settlements, they could not reasonably object to it, and for Phips to offer to pardon the Count de Frontenac for being loyal to his own country, was insolent enough. See Chalmers, Polit. Ann p. 57.

[2] Mother Juchereau says that when the action began, he showed cannon-balls to the ladies in his hands, and asked whether that corresponded with their description of the undefended state of the city.

[3] See Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690. Canada Doc., II., v., p. 137. Mother Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 329, says Maricourt fired the gun, although she does not say that it was the first one discharged, or mention whence it was fired. The flag remained in the Cathedral till it was destroyed by fire during the siege of 1759. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 224; Hawkins' Picture of Quebec, p. 139 De la Potherie, iii., p. 118, mentions the incident later in the action.

the afternoon, De Longueil, accompanied by Maricourt, his brother, recently arrived from Hudson's Bay, passed in a canoe along the English fleet, which he wished to reconnoitre. Some boats gave him chase, but he reached land, and by a sharp fire of musketry, compelled his pursuers to make for their ships.[1] 1690.

The next day, an English bark full of soldiers approached the St. Charles River to reconnoitre a place for debarkation between Beauport and that river; but it grounded quite far from the shore. It nevertheless kept up quite a brisk fire, but it was well answered. Some of our brave fellows rushed to attack the bark, but they could not reach it without going waist deep in water, and the plan had to be abandoned.[2]

Frontenac's plan for defending Quebec.

The Count de Frontenac's main object was to induce the enemy to cross the St. Charles, and they could in fact attack the city effectually only on that side. His reason was that this river being fordable only at low tide, he could, when they had once crossed it, without much risk, advance to engage them, and they, once routed, could never rally, while obliged to march knee-deep in mud to reach their boats. On the other hand, if the French crossed the river to meet them, they could do so only under equal disadvantage. This reasoning could be retorted, by remarking that if the enemy after crossing the river drove our men successfully, they could, being opposite the weakest part of the city, enter it with the fugitives; but the general reckoned too much on the valor of his troops to fear this disaster, moreover he was resolved not to strip the fortifications of soldiers, and to be always at hand to support his men. It was soon clear that he reasoned well.

On the eighteenth, at noon, almost all the boats were

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 486. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 428.

[2] Tuesday, 17th. De Monseignat, Relation. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 486. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 430. Major Walley, Journal in the Expedition against Canada, (Hutchinson, i., p. 471) designates it as "the vessel Capt. Ephraim Savage was in," and Cotton Mather (Mag., B'k II., p. 49), adds, "with 60 men."

1690. seen advancing on that same side, filled with soldiers; but as the French could not guess in what precise spot they would attempt a landing, the enemy found no one to oppose them.[1] As soon as the troops were landed, de Frontenac sent a detachment of the militia of Montreal and Three Rivers to harass them. These were joined by some farmers of Beauport, but the whole numbered only about three hundred men,[2] and the English were at least fifteen hundred, drawn up in battalions in very fair order.[3]

Moreover, as the ground at that place was marshy, set with thickets and cut up with rocks, the tide low, and no way to reach the enemy except to march through the mud, they could only be attacked by skirmishers and squads. For the same reason the English could derive no advantage from their superior numbers. Hence that day there was no fighting except in Indian style.

This fashion not only disconcerted the English, who were unaccustomed to it, but even prevented their knowing how small a number they had on their hands. The action lasted about an hour, the Canadians bounding from rock to rock, all around the English, who durst not scatter; the constant fire they kept up did no great injury to men who did nothing but appear and vanish, and whose shots all told, because the battalions kept drawn up close.

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 487. Account sent by La Fleur de Mai, (Ib., p. 457). De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique, iii., p. 117. He brings it in abruptly, omitting part of de Monseignat.' Walley, Journal on the Expedition, (Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, i., p 472), says, "he landed Oct. 8, O. S., with between 1200 and 1300 men. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 213, says, the boats made three trips, and supposed they landed 1000 or 1200 each time. He says the spot was opposite Isle Orleans, a league and a half below Quebec. Smith, History of Canada, i. p. 104, says they landed at La Canardiere. Mather (Magnalia, B'k II., p. 50), after mentioning that the force was reduced by small-pox, gives 1400 as the force that landed.

[2] La Hontan says 200 men and 50 officers; and adds that they were posted in a bushy tract, three quarters of a mile wide and half a league from where the English landed. Voyages, i., p. 214.

[3] The French estimate of the English numbers is pretty close Walley supposes the French force 7 or 800. Journal, &c., p. 473.

They were accordingly soon in disorder. They took the Canadians for Indians, and as they fell back, were heard saying that there was an Indian behind every tree.[1] 1690.

Action near Beauport.

Frontenac, so as not to give them leisure to perceive that they had in front only a handful of men, ordered up a battalion of regulars to cover their retreat, which he sounded as soon as day began to wane. In this affair we lost the Chevalier de Clermont, and the son of the Sieur de la Touche, Seigneur of Champlain, who had followed the militia as volunteers. We had also ten or twelve wounded,[2] the most distinguished of whom was the Sieur Juchereau de Saint Denys, Seigneur of Beauport, who commanded his tenantry. Though over sixty he fought with great valor, till he had an arm broken by a musket ball. The King soon after rewarded his zeal and courage by granting him letters of nobility;[3] and at the same time conferred the same favor on Sieur Hertel, who on all occasions distinguished himself at the head of the Three Rivers militia. This day cost the enemy one hundred and fifty men, and they, in revenge, set fire to some neighboring houses.[4]

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 487. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, iii., p. 117. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 431–2. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 214.

[2] Ib. Walley, Journal &c., (Hutchinson, i., p. 473), supposes he killed 20 or 30 of the French. La Hontan makes the French loss 10 coureurs de bois, 4 officers and 2 Indians. Lieut. Clermont, Joseph de la Touche and one other killed on the 18th, were buried Oct. 23 at Beauport. Langevin, Archives de N. D. de Beauport, I., p. 46.

[3] Nicholas Juchereau de St. Denis, son of John Juchereau, Sieur de More, a native of Ferté Vidame, came to Quebec in 1640. In 1649 he married Mary Giffart, daughter of one of the oldest settlers. He served long and well. The nobility granted was not a title, but merely the right to be styled Esquire. He died at Beauport in 1692, aged 66, and was buried the 5th Oct. Langevin, Archives de N. D. de Beauport, I., p. 50. Daniel, Nos Gloires, i., p. 197–205.

[4] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 487. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 117. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 432. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 214, makes the English loss 300; by actual count. Walley, in his Journal (Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, i., p. 472) says killed four outright, and not less than 60 officers and soldiers wounded.

1690.

The same evening the four largest ships anchored before the city,[1] the Rear Admiral's flagship bearing the blue flag a little to the left toward the Sault au Matelot, or Sailor's Leap, the Admiral on his right; the Vice Admiral a little below,[2] both opposite the lower town. The fourth, which bore a Commodore's pennant, advanced towards Cape Diamond. The city saluted them first; they then began a heavy cannonade which was well answered. Sainte Helene aimed almost all the guns of the principal battery, and not one of his shots failed to tell. That day the enemy fired only at the Upper Town, where they killed one man, and wounded two, without doing any other damage.[3]

The enemy cannonade Quebec without result.

Their animosity was directed chiefly against the Jesuits, to whom they attributed all the ravages committed by the Abénaquis in New England, and they had declared that when they took the town, the Jesuits should be made to suffer; but not one of their balls struck the college, and their threats coming to the ears of Sainte Helene, his brothers, and some of the other more prominent Canadians, these gallant men protested that they would all sooner die fighting before the doors of those religious, than suffer them to receive the least insult.

About eight o'clock the firing ceased on both sides.

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[1] Capt. Gregory Sugars was Admiral on the Six Friends; Capt. Carter, Vice-Admiral on the John and Thomas; Capt. Gilbert, Rear-Admiral on the Severn. Smith, History of Canada, i. p. 90. Oldmixon, i., 140.

[2] De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 487, Le Clercq, ii., p. 433, and De la Potherie, iii., p. 117, say *above*.

[3] De Monseignat, Relation, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, iii., p. 118. Le Clercq, Etablissement, ii., p. 433. Mother Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 326, states that the English aimed especially at the spire of the Cathedral on which had been hung up a picture of the Holy Family taken from the Ursuline Convent, (Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 472,) and that his balls accordingly went over the town. Twenty-six cannon-balls fell in the Hospital Convent grounds and were sent down to the batteries to be used again. (Juchereau.) The Ursuline Convent received several balls also, one nearly killing a nun. Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 471. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 216, speaks very lightly of the damage done.

1690.

The next day, the city was again the first to open, and the English fire was not as brisk as it had been the day before. After some time the Rear-Admiral found himself so cut up by the Sault au Matelot batteries, and by that lower down on the left, that he was compelled to draw off. The Admiral soon followed him with precipitation. He was pierced in several places[2] at the water line, had more than twenty balls in his hull, almost all his rigging cut, his mainmast nearly severed, and a great number of his sailors and soldiers killed and wounded. The two other vessels held out a little while longer, but at noon they ceased firing, and at five in the afternoon ran into the Anse des Mères, behind Cape Diamond, to be out of reach of our cannon. Nor did they remain long there, for they were exposed to a sharp fire of musketry, which killed many, and forced them to draw off still further.[3]

They are compelled to draw off in great disorder.

All that day, the troops who had landed near Beauport, remained quietly in their camp, and the French contented themselves with watching them. Early on the twentieth, they beat to arms, and drew up in line. In this posture they remained till two o'clock in the afternoon, constantly shouting: "Hurrah for King William!" Then they advanced, and from their movements seemed to intend marching on the city, having platoons on the wings and Indians in the van.[4]

Second repulse of the landed troops.

For some time they marched along the little river in very good order; but Messrs. de Longueil and de Sainte Helene, at the head of 200 volunteers, intercepted them,

[1] Oct. 9 O. S., 19 N. S.

[2] Cotton Mather, Life of Phips, (Magnalia, II., p. 50,) and Some Few Remarks, p. 51, says his ship was shot through in an hundred places: though Robert Calef, More Wonders, p. 146, says only in seven.

[3] De Monseignat, Relation, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, iii., p. 119.

Le Clercq mentions at this point the loss of the Admiral's flag, p. 434. See Ante, p. 174. Walley, Journal, p. 473–4, admits that Sir William's ship returned very much disabled. Mgr. de Laval, Letter, Nov. 20, 1690, estimates that they fired 2000 balls at the town.

[4] Account sent by the Fleur de Mai. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 457. Walley, Journal in Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., p. 475, says, 11, O. S.

1690. and skirmishing in the same manner as on the 18th, kept up such constant and well-timed volleys, as to drive them to the shelter of a little wood, from which they poured out a very heavy fire. There our men left them, and retreated in good order.[1]

Mr. de Saint Helene mortally wounded.

In this second action we had two men killed and four wounded, including, among the latter, the two commandants, who were always fighting with their usual valor at the head of their men; Mr. de Longueil got off with a pretty severe contusion; but Saint Helene, his brother, wishing to take a prisoner, received a musket-ball in the knee. The wound was not apparently dangerous, but he died nevertheless, a few days after, to the great regret of all his colony, who lost in him one of the most amiable cavaliers and bravest men it ever possessed.[2]

During this action, Frontenac had advanced in person at the head of three battalions of his regular troops and had drawn them up in line of battle on the bank of the little river, intending to cross, if his volunteers were too hard pressed; but the enemy gave him no occasion to be more than a spectator of the combat. Their loss this day was at least as great as on the first occasion; but when they saw the French retire, they fell on the cattle, which

[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 119. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii. p. 435, mentions besides Longueil and St. Helene, de Moncarville, d'Oleançon and de Repentigny. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 215, makes the English loss 300 or 400. Walley states that a council was held Oct. 9, O. S., and it was resolved to re-embark. He went next day, Oct. 10—20, to Phipps to communicate this decision. During his absence the French charged his outguards, Major Savage sent relief and then retreated. He gives his loss at four wounded, one of whom died, and one drum left on the field. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., p. 475. He intended to go off that night, but there being some confusion he deferred it. The next day, (Oct. 11—21), they stood to their arms all day, drums beating, colors flying.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, 1689–90, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488, Relation, 1690–91. Ib., p. 513. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, iii., p. 119. Le Clercq, ii, p. 437, confounds St. Helene and his brother. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 215, makes the French loss in whites and Indians about 40. The others say two killed and four wounded.

they had neglected to secure, and slaughtered them all, sending a part on board the fleet where they were in great want of fresh meat.[1] 1690.

Third and more decisive action.

The following night, the Admiral sent them five six-pounders, which the besieged did not know till they opened their fire.[2] The English began their march with this artillery, with the view of breaching the city walls;[3] but they were not allowed to go far. The Sieur de Villieu, reduced lieutenant, who had obtained from the general a small detachment of soldiers, all men of good will, had set out before they had left their camp, as though he had designed to carry a part of it, and he had been closely followed by some other small parties, headed by Messrs. de Cabanas, Duclos and de Beaumanoir.[4]

Villieu, who was the first to come up with the enemy, laid an ambuscade, and by skirmishing, drew them into it; there he long withstood all their efforts, and when they saw that they could not make him recoil, they attempted to surround him; but one of the detachments formed to effect this, fell into a second ambuscade, where the men of Beauport, Beaupré and Isle Orleans, commanded by the Sieur Carré, awaited them: another was met by the three officers just mentioned, and both detachments were thrown into great disorder.[5]

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488.

[2] The account sent by the Fleur de Mai, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 457, makes this to have been Saturday, 21st, but Walley says that the six field-pieces were landed 9th, O. S. (19, N. S.,) Hutchinson's Massachusetts, i., p. 473.

[3] Walley makes this a detachment of three parties to drive off the French while he embarked. Hutchinson, i., p. 475. Mather mentions wheelbarrows, each with two Petarraros. Magnalia, Book II., p. 50.

[4] Duclos de Beaumanoir. De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488.

[5] De Monseignat, Relation, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique, iii., p. 119. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., pp. 437–8. This affair took place Oct. 11 O. S., 21 N. S., (Walley's Journal, Hutchinson's History of Mass., p. 476,) and is represented by him as merely a diversion to cover his retreat, by three small parties sent to beat up the swamps; but supported afterwards by several companies who kept up the fire till night.

1690. The contest was, however, too unequal on the side of the French, to be longer maintained, and agreeably to the concerted plan, they began to fall back slowly, keeping up a constant fire till they concentrated near a stockaded house on an eminence. Here, protected by the palisades, they made a stand, pouring in so deadly a fire as to check the whole English army. Then the English began to use their field-pieces, but an answer was given by the battery at the Little River Gate; moreover, the English fired so badly that they did not wound a single person. Nor was the musketry fire more effective; it killed only a young scholar[1] and wounded only one Indian.

This fire lasted till night, when the English retired, swearing against the French, who fought, they said, behind hedges and bushes, like Indians.[2] What finally induced them to retreat was their large number of dead and wounded. They retired at first in tolerable order; but the retreat soon became a perfect flight, when they heard the tocsin sounded by the Cathedral. They imagined they were going to have the Governor-General and all the regulars upon them, and their only thought was to reach their camp with all possible speed. Yet the tocsin was merely a stratagem of the Sieur Dupuys, Lieutenant-particulier of Quebec, who had been an officer before becoming a magistrate, and who had voluntarily assumed, during the siege, the duties of Adjutant, which he discharged very ably.[3]

While this was taking place near the Little River, the two hostile vessels that were above Quebec, fell down with the tide to resume their position in the line: as they

[1] This young man was Peter Maufils, student in philosophy, at Quebec, wounded in the arm, Nov. 15, died 16. Abeille, i., No. 41. The students at the Industrial school at St. Joachim, to the number of 40, all volunteered, Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 331. L'Abeille, i., No. 41.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 488–9, Frontenac's Dispatch. Ib., p. 460. Account sent by the Fleur de Mai. Ib., p. 458. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 439. De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 120.

[3] De la Potherie, Histoire de Amérique Sept. iii., p. 120.

1690.

passed before the city, they received some cannonading and returned it, but without doing any damage.[1] The night of the 21st and 22d was very dark and rainy; the English who had landed near Beauport availed themselves of it to decamp; some detachments, who had by Frontenac's orders glided to their rear, having excited again their fear of being attacked by all the forces of the colony. They accordingly regained their boats without even taking time to carry off their cannon.[2]

The enemy embark, abandoning their artillery.

At daybreak, some Indians who were reconnoitring, announced the retreat of the English, and in their camp were found, besides the field-pieces, mounted on their carriages, a hundred pounds of powder, and forty to fifty cannon-balls. Sometime after, three armed boats returned to carry off what they had neglected to take with them; but those who were already in possession, opened so sharp a fire on the boats that they durst not land. The Admiral, perceiving it, sent thirty more; but those in command, after holding a council out of musket range, deemed it inexpedient to attempt a landing, and they returned to the ships.[3]

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[1] Some documents say that it was on the afternoon of the 22d that these vessels retired. *Charlevoix.* De Monseignat says 21st. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 489, as do the Account by the Fleur de Mai. Ib., p. 458, and de la Potherie, iii., p. 120. Le Clercq, ii., p. 444, seems to have misled Charlevoix, as he mentions the 22d on p. 443.

[2] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 489. Ib., p. 458. De la Potherie, iii., p. 120. Letter of Mgr. de Laval, Nov. 20. 1690, in L'Abeille, i., No. 12.

[3] Ib. Walley's Journal, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, p. 477, says that five cannon got covered by water and were overlooked: "they sent in the morning, but then it was too late." Frontenac to the Minister. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 460. Can. Doc., II., v., p. 137, says the French found the five cannon at low water. Chalmers' Polit. Ann. (N. Y. Hist. Soc'y Coll., 1868) p. 57.

John Walley, commander of the land forces in Phipps' Expedition, was a son of Rev. Thomas Walley of Barnesville; born in 1643, freeman in 1663, captain in 1679, interested in the settlement of Bristol, in 1686 in Andros' council. He published a Journal of his operations, cited in these notes. In 1710–11 he was Judge of the Superior Court and died in Boston, Jan'y 11, 1712. Savage's Genealogical Dict'y, iv., 400. Hist. Anc. and Hon. Artillery, 185. Dexter's Church, ii., p. 15, note. Allen's Biog. Dict'y. His expedition reached Boston again, Nov. 19.

1690. Frontenac bestowed great praise on all who took part in the last action. He permitted Carré and his troop to carry home two pieces of artillery, to be an eternal monument of the exploit they had achieved. It was admitted that the most experienced could not have manœuvered better than this farmer did,[1] and the English even paid him all the justice he deserved. But nothing disconcerted Admiral Phibs more than to see all the regulars and colonial militia assembled at Quebec. He had calculated on a diversion in the direction of Montreal, which should have kept a good portion of these troops engaged, and his hopes were based on this.

The failure of a diversion in the direction of Montreal saves Quebec.

The information given to the Count de Frontenac by the Iroquois la Plaque, that a large number of Indians were encamped on the shores of Lake St. Sacrement was but too well founded. It was indeed only part of a corps of three thousand men, English, Iroquois and Mohegans, who were to attack the Government of Montreal, while the English fleet besieged Quebec. There was every reason to fear that Canada, already enfeebled by the severe losses it had sustained the preceding years, would sink under two such powerful efforts, had they been well concerted; but Heaven intervened by one of those unhoped for operations, in which it is impossible not to recognize that Providence which watches over the preservation of states, and which can derive the aid it destines for them, from sources whence it would least naturally be expected.[2]

The English and Mohegans, on their march to join the Iroquois, were attacked by small-pox, and many still bore the marks when they reached the rendezvous. The Iroquois, already thrown into very bad humor by the delay which this sickness caused, were seized at this spectacle with fear that the disease would spread to them, and they reproached their allies with coming to poison them.

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[1] Frontenac to the Minister, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 460, and Account sent by the Fleur de Mai, p. 458.

[2] Ante, p. 143.

In fact many were soon attacked with the same disease, and no less than three hundred died of it. This was enough to induce all the rest to abandon so fatal a spot, and withdraw from those who had brought the contagion. Thus the army melted away.[1] 1690.

It is even added on documents that I do not guarantee, that the English had sent on in advance closed chests, containing poisoned clothes, and that their design was to let the French plunder them; but the chests having been opened by the Indians, all whom curiosity led to attire themselves in these clothes, died of it. What perhaps gave credit to these popular rumors, was that the wound of which Mr. de Sainte Helene died, not having been deemed serious, some gave out that he had been struck by a poisoned ball; yet it is certain that many others of the French wounded in the various actions with the English troops who landed at Beauport, recovered from their wounds, and that the surgeon who attended Sainte Helene, complained that he had been unwilling to follow the regime which he prescribed.

It is also said, and with apparently greater likelihood, that what finally embroiled the English and Iroquois, was

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[1] Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 460. May, 1691. Ib., p. 495. De Monseignat, says 500 died. Ib., p. 490. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 124–6. Mgr. de Laval, in his letter of Nov. 20, 1690, reports that the Indians broke with the English because the latter refused to mingle with the Indians in their military movements, keeping the Indians apart; that the Indians withdrew, and on their march homeward plundered the *caches* of the English, on which the small-pox broke out among them, carrying off 300 Senecas and 100 Onondagas, and that all the Iroquois believed the things poisoned on purpose to destroy them. De la Potherie, Hist. de l'A. S., iii., p. 126–7 and the Relation, 1690–1. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 513–4, gives the force as 900 Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, 470 Mohawks, Oneidas and Mohegans. The English refused to embark in the Iroquois canoes. They give the loss 300 Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, 90 Mohawks and Oneidas, 5 or 600 English. Milet, in a letter from Oneida, June, 1691, Relation de sa Captivité, p. 46, says small-pox stopped the first, or Sorel Expedition, and scattered the second, or Lake George one, which was accompanied by 400 English, whom the Iroquois ordered back. See N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 733, 753. Ante, p. 145.

1690. that the former would not embark in the canoes of the latter, structures of elm bark, quite poorly made and very low at the side, that on this refusal the Iroquois called them cowards, loaded them with bitter reproaches, and on their homeward march, destroyed all the grain aud killed all the cattle around Albany.[1] For my own part, I am convinced that in the motives for the withdrawal of these Indians, there entered no little of that policy, of which we shall see hereafter well-defined effects. This policy consists in an unwillingness on their part, that either of the two European nations between whom their territory lies should acquire too great a superiority over the other, satisfied that they should soon be the victims.

Be these circumstances as they may, and they are not equally attested, men were not well assured at Montreal of the danger they had been in, till long after the dispersion of this large force; and to all appearances Admiral Phibs was ignorant of the failure of that movement, when he arrived before Quebec, and never suspected it till he learned that all was quiet at Montreal. This suspicion, which was very well founded, and the failure of the various attempts which he had made to penetrate into Quebec by the river St. Charles, at last determined him to raise the siege. In the three actions which we have described he lost nearly six hundred men; it has even been considered as a fact that he had not a single cannon-ball left; that the last day, his guns were loaded with only wretched scraps of iron, and that all his other military supplies were as completely exhausted.[2]

The siege raised.

The twenty-third, on the report which spread of the speedy departure of the fleet, Captains d'Orvilliers and de Subercase, with one hundred men, threw themselves into Isle Orleans, and the Sieur de Villieu was ordered to descend by the little channel to Cape Tourmente, in order to prevent any landing of the English. In the evening the

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 127. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 513.

[2] Chalmers' Political Annals (N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1868), p. 58.

fleet weighed anchor, and fell down with the tide. On the twenty-fourth it anchored at l'Arbre Sec. It carried off quite a number of French who had been taken prisoners on various occasions, and among others the Rev. Mr. Trouvé, a priest whom Phibs had detained since the capture of Port Royal, Mr. de Grandville, and the demoiselles Joliet and de la Lande.[1] 1690.

Exchange of prisoners. Wretched state and new losses of the English fleet.

The latter lady hearing nothing said of ransom or exchange, asked the Admiral whether he would not prefer to obtain the English prisoners in Canada, rather than take French to Boston, who would only be a burthen She offered to go to the Count de Frontenac, and in his name propose an exchange, which would redound to the advantage of both nations. Her offer being accepted, she was taken to Quebec, and had still less difficulty in inducing the Governor-General to enter into negotiations on that point with the English Admiral. The Count de Frontenac even sent him the captain of his guards[2] invested with full powers, and as the number of prisoners was about equal on both sides, the negotiation was concluded without any difficulty, and carried out in good faith.[3] Phibs then continued his route, deeply chagrined to have lost the best part of his property in an expedition in which he had gone to almost all the expense, in the hope of a great fortune. Nor was he free from anxiety as to what might befall him in that advanced season without coasting-pilots in a river as to which he was not well acquainted, with vessels in such wretched order, so

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[1] De Monseignat, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col Doc., ix., p. 489. De la Potherie, iii., p. 120–1. Account sent by the Fleur de Mai. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 458, Frontenac's Dispatch. Ib., p. 461.

[2] The Sieur de la Valliere, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 461.

[3] Frontenac to the Minister, Nov. 12, 1690. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 461. The French recovered Mr. de Grandville, Rev. Mr. Trouvé, and the ladies mentioned, giving up Davis, Sarah Gerrish and 16 others, chiefly taken by Portneuf. De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 489. Mather's Magnalia, B'k VII., p. 66. Drake's Indian Captivities, p. 68, Declaration of Sylvanus Davis, Mass. Hist. Coll., III., i., p. 107. The exchange left 60 English prisoners still in Canada. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii. p. 443.

1690. destitute of provisions and ammunition. His own ship was well nigh lost in making the traverse of Isle Orleans, and before he got out of the river he lost, or was forced to abandon no less than nine of his vessels, a part of the crews having been lost by sickness, or other accidents.[1]

New proof of the fidelity of the Abenaquis.

Two days after his departure from before Quebec, some Abénaquis came in from Acadia or its vicinity, announcing that the English had been beaten at sea in Europe, which proved to be true, Count de Tourville having defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland in the British Channel.[2] Those Indians announced also that the small-pox had swept away four hundred Iroquois and a hundred Mohegans of the force intended to attack Montreal; that fifty Hollanders were soon to leave New-York, to renew the negotiations with the Ottawas of Michillimakinac, but that it was their intention to deceive these Indians; that within the last two months the Canibas had defeated a party of seventy Englishmen and thirty Mohegans; that the Governor of New England had made them very advantageous propositions, but that they had replied that neither they nor their children, nor their children's children would ever make peace or truce with a nation who had so often betrayed them. In fact the English never treated with those Indians in good faith, and the latter could above all never forget that some years before, when several of them went to Boston in time of peace and on affairs of trade, they had all been massacred under various pretexts.

The Count de Frontenac was not yet free from some anxiety in regard to the vessels which he expected from France; but they had been seasonably informed of the

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[1] Capt. Avismindi, when at Tadoussac, saw them breaking up some of their vessels. The decks of his ships were covered with wounded men. Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 338. Hutchinson, i., p. 356, says one was lost on Anticosti, two or three wrecked or never heard of, and some driven to the West Indies. Smith, History of Canada, i., p. 105, gives an Account of the sufferings of the 60 men of Rainsford's ship, lost on Anticosti.

[2] Off the Isle of Wight, July 10, 1690, De Monseignat, Relation, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 490.

arrival of the English fleet at Quebec, and had taken refuge in the Saguenay, where they remained till the English fleet passed down again and had got far enough to banish all fear of having been detected.[1] On the 12th of November they anchored before the capital,[2] where the joy they caused was heightened by the fear that had been entertained for their safety, and by the general destitution that prevailed. Yet they brought no remedy to the famine,[3] which soon became extreme, because, as already stated, the Iroquois incursions in the spring had very generally prevented the farmers from planting their crops.

1690.

Ships from France arrive at Quebec.

They were accordingly obliged to quarter the soldiers on the richer farmers, who received them not only without complaint, but with cheerfulness. This good conduct, and the zeal displayed by all, in the course of a campaign in which they had scarcely had their arms out of their hands; the alacrity with which they undertook anything desired of them during the siege, and the courage of

Famine and zeal of the Colonists.

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[1] Mgr. de Laval, Letter, Nov. 20, 1690, says that the Francis Xavier, the Glorieux, Capt. Avismindi, and a frigate, La Fleur de Mai, loaded with flour and pork, ran into the Saguenay, were seen by the English, but saved by fogs and storms that came up. See De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 491. Mother Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 335, &c., gives many details as to the Glorieux.

[2] News came the 12th, the ships reached Quebec, the 15th, 16th, 17th. De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 401. According to Mgr. de Laval the cargoes were estimated at a million of livres and Mother Juchereau says the Glorieux had 313,000 livres in specie. Le Clercq, ii., p. 457, says 14th, missing every correct date.

[3] According to Mgr. de Laval, La Fleur de Mai brought provisions. See, too, Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 475. As to the famine, see De la Potherie, iii., p. 125. Relation, &c., 1690–1. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 513. Sylvanus Davis, Declaration, Mass. Hist. Coll., III., i., p. 111–2.

Neither party gives the total loss. Phipps, in his representation to King William, says he did not lose over 30 men before the enemy. Hutchinson's Mass., i., p. 356. Hutchinson, from letters, makes his whole loss by sickness and the enemy about 200. Gov. Sloughter to Lord Nottingham, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 761, makes the loss of men 1,000 and the debt caused forty thousand pounds. The return of Phipps threw Massachusetts into consternation; it was utterly unprepared to pay the soldiers, and issued the first colonial paper money to meet the emergency. It did not recover from the blow for years. Hutchinson, i., p. 356. Felt, History of Massachusetts Currency, p. 49.

1690. which they had just given so many proofs, all this did them great honor, and the King, to whom the Governor-General took great care to render a faithful account, seemed not less touched by it than by the happy deliverance of Quebec; an event which his Majesty nevertheless deemed sufficiently important for him to desire to transmit it to the posterity among the glorious events of his reign, having struck a medal on the occasion.[1]

The Abenaquis commit great ravages in New England.

In the month of March, in the following year, new deputies arrived at the capital from all the Abénaquis nations, from whom it was ascertained that up to the month of February only four of the vessels that had laid siege to Quebec had re-entered Boston. It was afterwards ascertained that some had stopped in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to cruise, and had captured several fishing-smacks; that Mr. de Manneval had been sent to England; that (Rev.) Mr. Petit was at Port Royal, and the Chevalier d'Eau at Boston, that the interpreter of this last officer, and two other Frenchmen, who accompanied him when he was sent on an embassy to Onondaga, had been burnt in three different villages; that the Ottawas and our other allies from the North and West continued the war vigorously against the Iroquois; that goods were very scarce in New England; that most of the fields were left uncultivated, and that a great many of the settlers, finding themselves without means of subsistence, had taken refuge at Boston and New York. This last was the result of the incursions of

1691.

[1] Charlevoix does not allude to the solemn rejoicings on Sunday, Nov. 7. Phipps' flag and that taken at Casco Bay were borne to the Cathedral in triumph, amid the roll of drums. A Te Deum sung by the Bishop, and a procession in which all the troops took part, carried the statue of the Blessed Virgin to four churches. A solemn festival of Our Lady of Victory was instituted, and a church in the Lower Town, already begun, dedicated under that name. De Monseignat, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 491. De la Potherie, iii., pp. 122–3. Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., p. 474. Le Clercq, ii., p. 452. De la Colombiere, brother of the celebrated pulpit orator, preached the discourse of the day. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 333. The nuns obtained permission to institute a special feast in honor of the Sacred Heart of Mary. Ib., p. 341. This medal is shown in the accompanying illustration.

QUEBEC MEDAL OF LOUIS XIV

the Canibas and other Abénaquis, who during this winter ravaged more than fifty leagues of country. 1691.

Deceitful negotiations of the Iroquois.

On this and other information which the same deputies gave the Count de Frontenac, that general suspected the English of complicity in a manœuvre then played by the Iroquois, to lull us into a false confidence, and a pretended reconciliation, with the view of favoring a new enterprise against the government of Montreal. It arose in this way: A party of one hundred and forty Mohawks, among whom were some Dutchmen, made an irruption at Chambly and surprised some Iroquois of Sault St. Louis. Several were killed, ten or twelve others were taken and bound.

Sometime after, three deputies arrived at the Sault from the Mohawk, unarmed, with the prisoners just mentioned, and declared that they came to ask peace from their Father; but that they first wished to know whether they would be well received, should they propose to him to give them lands in the neighborhood of the Sault to settle near their brethren. They added that they had made all haste in order to warn the French to be on their guard; inasmuch as eight hundred Iroquois warriors were preparing to enter the colony between Montreal and Three Rivers. They were asked whether they knew what had become of the Chevalier d'Eau, and they replied that it was at the solicitation of the English that they had burnt the three Frenchmen who attended him; that he himself had been on the point of undergoing the same fate; that he was actually bound to the stake, but as English and Iroquois alike refused to begin the execution, this dispute had saved his life.[1]

Frontenac, in reporting to Mr. de Pontchartrain, who had just succeeded Mr. de Seignelay in the Ministry, the various accounts that he had received, and especially what

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., pp. 125—131. Champigny to the Minister, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 499. The Relation, 1690–1. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 575, speaks of two only as burnt, and one dead of disease. See Ante, p. 52.

1691. concerned the Iroquois, informed him that he had not deemed it proper absolutely to reject the proposition of the Mohawks, nor on the other hand had he deemed it expedient to show it too much attention; that he had advised the Chevalier de Callieres to protract the negotiations through the Indians of Sault Saint Louis, and that he had notified the Ottawas, through the Sieur de Courtemanche,[1] that they would do him a pleasure by constantly harassing the Iroquois, against whom he kept himself on guard for fear of surprise.

Letter of Frontenac to Mr. de Pontchartrain.

"I recommended the same thing," he adds, "to the chiefs of the Canibas, when they left me, and I am convinced that if his Majesty adopts the resolution of undertaking any enterprise in the direction of Boston and New York, and seizing this latter place, this conquest will be the security of the country and deprive the Iroquois of all hope of protection. On the other hand, if the king retook Acadia and made himself absolute master of the Great Bank, which could be done by sending three or four frigates every year to cruise from Cape Sable to the northern point of Newfoundland, he would secure to his kingdom a trade of more than twenty millions, and more advantageous than the conquest of the Indies would be."[2] "I do not know," he says, in another letter, written two months after this, "whether my predecessors have noticed how important it is to secure the mastery of all the fisheries, and the advantage they would give to the commerce to the whole kingdom; nothing can render your ministry more illustrious than to induce the king to undertake this conquest. I believe it more important than that of all the Indies, whose mines are exhausting, while these are inexhaustible."[3]

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[1] Augustine Le Gardeur, Sieur de Courtemanche, son of John Le Gardeur de Repentigny. Ferland, ii., p. 232. Daniel, i. p. 162.

[2] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, May, 1691. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 495–6. Relation, &c., 1690–1. *Ib.*, p. 516.

[3] Frontenac to Pontchartrain, Aug. 12, 1691. Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 69

1691.

New Iroquois hostilities.

Meanwhile the great Iroquois party, of which the Mohawks had given notice, appeared about the beginning of May, near Montreal. They were to the number of a thousand, and having established their camp at the mouth of the great river of the Ottawas, they sent out two detachments, one of a hundred and twenty men which took a northern route, the other of two hundred, turning southward.[1] The former first fell on a district of Montreal Island, called Pointe aux Trembles, where they burned about thirty houses or barns, and took some settlers, on whom they wreaked unheard of cruelties.[2]

The second party, which included twenty Englishmen, and some Mohegans, glided in between Chambly and La Prairie de la Magdeleine, where they surprised twelve Indians of Sault St. Louis, men and women ; but the next day some Mohawks in the party took them home and declared that they came to treat of peace: it was, however, soon perceived that their real design was, if possible, to seduce all the inhabitants of that village; but in this they did not succeed.[3] Almost simultaneously a fourth party of about eighty men attacked the Iroquois Christians of the Mountain, and having invested them on all sides, captured thirty-five women and children, and carried them off in broad day, by means of a skirmish which covered their retreat.[4]

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[1] Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 73.

[2] Champigny to the Minister, May 12, 1691. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 502–3, says they destroyed 25 houses, killed one man and two women. The Relation 1690–1, gives La Chine, Riviere des Prairies and Pointe aux Trembles. All the accounts make the Iroquois force 800. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'A. S., iii., pp. 132–3. Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 73.

[3] I do not find the authority for this. It is not in the N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 517, or in De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii. Belmont, says that May 2, Mohawks took, near Chambly, six Ganneyousses, who were brought back the 13th by Onnonouagaren to keep up secret understanding.

[4] Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 517. De la Potherie, iii., p. 133, mentions this, without giving numbers here stated. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 33, says May 17th, 70 Iroquois attacked at 4, A. M., were repulsed with seven killed. Mission lost Tondiharon. He says nothing of women taken; but the Histoire de l'Eau de Vie en Canada, p. 17, says they took 30 and killed six.

1691. Many other less numerous bands spread over the colony from Repentigny to the Richelieu Islands, everywhere committing great ravages, because the troops and the militia could not keep in the field for want of provisions. At last the Chevalier de Vaudreuil formed a corps of a hundred or a hundred and twenty volunteers, officers, soldiers and Canadians, who began by going from house to house to obtain provisions. As soon as they had collected enough for some days, they joined the Sieur de la Mine, captain, who had started from Montreal some time before Mr. de Vaudreuil and had discovered a party of Oneidas undefended in an abandoned house at Saint Sulpice.

Action at St. Sulpice, or Repentigny.

The Chevalier de Vaudreuil, to whom this was reported, without hesitation marched in that direction. He had with him, among other brave men, the Chevalier de Crisasy, Le Moyne de Bienville, and Oureouharé, whom they began to suspect of being in correspondence with his nation, but who in the rest of this campaign, completely dispelled all doubt. Our men, on approaching the house, perceived fifteen Oneidas lying out doors on the grass, not suspecting even that there were any French in the field; they rushed on these and killed all before they knew what was going on. Three others rushed out of the house at the cry of the dying; one was instantly brought down, two others escaped to the wood badly wounded. Then those still left in the house prepared to defend it, and Bienville, going too near a window, was killed on the spot by a musket ball.[1] The loss of this officer, who was well known to the Iroquois, roused the courage of those savages, and but for the extraordinary efforts of de la Mine, de Crisasy and Oureouharé, one hundred and twenty Frenchmen were on the point of failing before a dozen Iroquois, posted in a wretched house. At last the Cheva-

[1] Francis Le Moyne, first Sieur de Bienville, fifth son of M. de Longueil, was born at Montreal, May 10, 1666, and was ensign in the marine corps. Daniel, Nos Gloires Nationales, i., p. 47. After his death his name was given to one of his brothers, then quite young, and now Governor of Louisiana. *Charlevoix.*

lier de Vaudreuil, somewhat too late, thought of setting it on fire. The enemy tried to cut their way out, axe in hand, but when the first two or three were killed, five were taken and mercilessly burnt by the settlers, who were convinced that the only means of correcting these Indians was to treat them as they treated others.[1] 1691.

We shall have in the sequel more than one occasion to speak of the Marquis and Chevalier de Crisasy, and the reader will perhaps be glad to know who they were and what brought them to New France. There were two brothers of one of the most illustrious and powerful houses in Sicily. They had been amongst the first to declare for France in the revolt, which had well nigh wrested that kingdom from the king of Spain, and when the troubles were appeased, they could not obtain or durst not solicit pardon from his Catholic Majesty. The Chevalier was a professed Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, had made his caravans with all possible distinction, and, in fact, possessed all the qualities that can raise a military man to the highest honors in his profession. Who were the Messrs. de Crisasy.

The Marquis was also very brave, and bore marks that would have done him great honor had he not received them fighting against his lawful prince. By the submission of Sicily he beheld himself deprived of all his property, which was considerable. Believing that the Most Christian king would interest himself in obtaining its restoration, or compensate him, he proceeded with his brother to Versailles, not doubting but that they would soon be employed in a manner suited to their birth and services.

They were disappointed in their expectations. Princes who do not scruple to use traitors, do not always feel bound to reward treason, especially when they do not derive all the advantage they anticipate from it; or rather

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[1] Benac, Relation de ce qui s'est passé. Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 74. Relation, &c., 1690–1. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 517–8. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., ii., pp 134–5.

1691. Providence, which watches over the preservation of states, rarely permits them to accredit perfidy. After much solicitation, the Crisasys beheld themselves brought down to accept each a company in Canada, for fear of having nothing at all. There they served till their death, with a zeal from which they might have hoped for everything had they exerted it, the one for his native land, the other for his order; but of which the Court of France never manifested any great appreciation.

The Chevalier, after many gallant actions, in which men were at a loss whether to admire most his ability in war, his penetration in council, his judgment in the enterprises confided to him, or his intrepidity and presence of mind in action, at last sank under the mortification of beholding himself neglected, without hope of promotion;[1] the Marquis, with less brilliant merit, but with the reputation of a wise and brave officer, supported his misfortunes with more patience and philosophy, and died Governor of Three Rivers.[2]

An Iroquois party escapes the French through the fault of Iroquois of Sault St. Louis.

Shortly before the action just mentioned, the same Bienville who there unfortunately lost his life in the flower of his age, had pursued a party of sixty Cayugas, among whom there were some Mohawks. He had with him two hundred picked men, French and domesticated Iroquois, and as he surprised the enemy, who were far inferior in numbers, he felt certain that not one could escape him; but the Mohawks having asked to parley with the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, the latter insisted on hearing them, for fear, they said, of breaking off all chance of arrangement between them and that canton.[3]

The Mohawks vowed to them that they wished for nothing so much as peace, and offered to return with them,

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[1] They were cousins to the Prince of Monaco, and Grimaldi and Lords of Messina. The Chevalier died March, 1696.

[2] He died on the summer of 1709.

[3] Relation, &c., 1690-1. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 517. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septent., iii., p. 133. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 33, gives June 17, as the day Bienville started.

promising to send deputies forthwith to Montreal to treat with Mr. de Callières. They were believed on their word, and allowed to depart as well as the Cayugas, for whom they answered, and as this was all that they had in view, they took no pains to keep their word. In this conduct of the Iroquois Christians, there was nothing surprising. Indians cannot mistrust those, even, who have most frequently broken their word with them ; but Mr. de Frontenac, ever prejudiced against them, on this occasion gave full sweep to his suspicions, which, nevertheless, had no legitimate basis, and he thus expressed himself in a letter written that very year to the new minister : 1691.

Frontenac's suspicion on the matter.

"There has been much outcry against the Indians of Sault, and their conduct has been suspected of insincerity, I have long since perceived a great indulgence that does not please me, any more than certain secret intercourse and connexion which they maintain with the Mohawks, among whom they have many kindred. I have frequently notified the Fathers who direct them, and whom I would not like to accuse of having any hand in it ; but it is certain that, either from a desire of humoring them, or gaining them to Christ by ways of mildness, or from other reasons unknown to me, they are sometimes too indulgent with them. The experience of twelve years' stay in this country, has convinced me that these missions should not be separated as they are from the French ; that they should always be left with the latter, in order to Frenchify them by Christianizing them, and that, otherwise, they will be more prejudicial than useful to the king's service."

False principles of this Governor.

His Majesty's Council now saw their true policy in regard to the conduct of the missionaries toward the Indians, and were convinced that their zeal was neither weak nor blind. The intercourse kept up by their neophytes with their relatives had no object but to people their village with new proselytes, that is to say, diminish the number of our enemies, and increase that of our allies, as daily happened. It was even admitted that the colony had no better soldiers than those who were in this way detached

1691. from the cantons, and that the town at the Sault was one of its strongest bulwarks.

If these Christians on some occasions did not do all that was expected of them, if some individuals acted from motives other than those inculcated upon them, no one before or after Frontenac, thought of making the whole town responsible, and much less, those who directed it; and an experience, not of ten years but of more than a century, has taught us that the worst system of governing these people and maintaining them in our interest, is to bring them in contact with the French, whom they would have esteemed more, had they seen them less closely.

In fine, there was no longer any doubt that the best mode of Christianizing them, was to avoid Frenchifying them. In the seven or eight months that the Iroquois of the Sault and the Mountain, spent at Montreal, after the ravage of Lachine, they became unrecognizable, both as regards morals and piety, and there is no one now who does not admit, that if their fervor is no more, as it was so long, the edification and admiration of New France, it is because they have had too much intercourse with us. The example of the Abénaqui nations, much further removed from the French settlements and whose attachment to our interest could go no further, alone sufficed to convince the General of the fallacy of his principle. His complaints and his advice were little regarded at Court, where they were at last persuaded that his project, which they had taken up so warmly thirty years before, was neither useful nor practicable.[1]

The Christians of the Sault St Louis and the Mountain, gave them even a proof of their fidelity sufficient to dispel the suspicion of the Count de Frontenac. The Onondaga

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[1] Le Clercq's Etablissement de la Foi, published in 1691, dedicated to Count de Frontenac, and said by Charlevoix to be in part by him, is entirely in this view of Frenchifying the Indians. See Shea, Discovery of the Mississippi, p. 80. Le Clercq adduces as a proof of his position, that in New England and New York the Indians had amalgamated with the whites! The best mode of manageing the Indians is still a problem.

Canton, which had adopted the family of Sieur le Moyne, resolved to send him a belt to deplore the death of Sainte Helene, his son. With the one appointed for this ceremony they sent two women of the village on the Mountain who had been held as prisoners, but were now set free.[1] 1691.

New intrigues of the Iroquois.

As no doubt was entertained in the canton, but that such a favor had brought these women over to the interests of the nation, they thought that they could entrust them with a very delicate commission; they handed them two belts, which they were to deliver secretly, one to one of the chiefs of their village, and the other to Louis Atherihata, who lived at Sault St Louis, and was god-son to the king. By these belts they were invited to return to their country and bring back as many as they could of their relatives and friends, and to give greater efficacy to this invitation the two Iroquois women were to add that there was no other means left them to escape perishing with the French. On what this threat was based, we shall soon see.

The two Indians received the belts, but at once carried them to the Governor of Montreal, swearing inviolable fidelity to him. The Chevalier de Callières at the same time learned from the two women, who brought the belts, that a large Iroquois party had gone to take post on the Ottawa River, at a place called the Long Rapid, and that it was their design to cut off all who passed that way to or from Michillimakinac, then to spread over the French settlements and prevent their gathering in the crops.

Fidelity of the Christian Iroquois.

The information was true, but the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who had assembled at Quebec a large number of soldiers and volunteers to give chase to these savages, learned, on passing Three Rivers, that they had decamped, either because they got information of the preparations on foot against them, or because the incursions of our allies into

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[1] Relations, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 518. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., ix., p. 135.

1691 their country recalled them to defend their families and prevent the ravaging of their own territory.[1]

Our allies continue to push the Iroquois.

In fact the war continued quite vigorously between these Indians, and it is certain that this diversion was of very great utility to us. Frontenac had been very successful in gaining the Ottawas and Hurons, who did wonders during the winter. Still he had not yet been able to send them intelligence of the victory gained by our troops over the English fleet, and it was not until the ice melted, that de Courtemanche and de Repentigny were sent to inform them. These two officers, with only ten men, passed through that host of Iroquois who surrounded the island of Montreal, and arrived at Michillimackinac without receiving the least check. Their mission produced all the effect expected, and as soon as they returned to Montreal, Courtemanche received orders to start back to take command among the Miamis, whom it was deemed necessary to reassure against the incursions of the Iroquois, and whose conduct the authorities were disposed to watch.[2]

Relief from France.

On the 1st of July a small ship from France, commanded by the Sieur Denys de Bonaventure anchored before Quebec, and filled the whole city with joy, not so much on account of the relief which it brought, and which could not be very great, as by the assurance the commandant gave that the colony would soon receive enough to restore abundance to the country. In fact, twelve days after Mr. du Tast, captain of a ship of the line, arrived with a convoy of fourteen sail of different sizes. In truth, all this armament was not intended to revictual the colony. It was destined chiefly to recover Port Nelson from the English and the Northern Company had incurred most of the outlay.[3]

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[1] The chief of the Mountain was Tamouratoua. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 518, or Tannouraoua. De la Potherie iii., p. 136.

[2] Journal du Sieur de Courtemanche. . . depuis Montreal jusqu'aux Outaouas, June 18, 1691. Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 53. See, too, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 516. He set out from Montreal April 22.

[3] Relation &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 519. De la Potherie, iii., p. 137. Du Tast is called in the former Du Tartre, and in the latter Dutas.

1691.

Yet this enterprise was not then carried out, and the reason adduced for deferring it, namely, that the season was too far advanced, was little more than a pretext, although not entirely without foundation. The real reason was that the whole profit was to go to the Company, and that d'Iberville was to share the glory with the Commandant of the king's ships. Accordingly that officer, on arriving at Quebec, did not conceal his feelings that such an expedition was not at all to his taste. Yet, as the king's orders were positive, Frontenac, to whom they were addressed, did not wish to take upon himself to change anything of his own authority.

Enterprise against Port Nelson deferred—Why?

The expedient that he adopted was to assemble those interested in the Northern Company, and all who possessed any knowledge of the navigation of the Bay. There Mr. du Tast set forth the reasons which seemed to him most suitable to convince them of the danger of exposing ships on that sea so late in the season. All were convinced, or saw that it would be useless to seem not to be, and de Frontenac and de Champigny deemed it expedient not to express their own opinions.[1]

Moreover they had positive information that the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all the lower river, were infested by English cruisers, who had already captured several merchantmen and fishing smacks, and it did not displease the Governor-General to find that du Tast preferred cruising in those parts to making war in Hudson's Bay; more especially as this second destination was given in that captain's instructions, in case the first was deemed absolutely impossible.[2]

Within a short time a rumor began to spread that the English were seriously thinking of taking their revenge for the affront they had received the year before off Quebec; it was even positively stated that Phibs had

Great preparations of the enemy.

[1] Decision prise par MM. de Frontenac et Champigny, July 16, 1691. Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 59.

[2] Frontenac to the Minister, Oct. 20, 1691. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 505,

1691. gone to England, and was to return with a fleet much more powerful than the last for a new attempt. Finally they were informed that very great preparations were making at Albany to attack the island of Montreal. Phibs' voyage and plans were real ; but his exertions were useless ; to all appearance they had not sufficient confidence in his ability to entrust him with a second armament, the more especially as he was no longer in a position to bear the expense.[1]

That preparing in New York was not strong enough to act successfully alone; for it was composed of only five hundred men,[2] one hundred and eighty English, the rest Mohawks and Mohegans. Yet it gave rise to a very sharp action; but that Providence which protected New France appeared in a very sensible manner. The army which the preceding year was to fall on the head of the colony, having been dispersed by the disunion which arose, they were able to meet the English fleet with all the forces of the colony, and this year the fleet in its turn failing, Montreal had means to resist all the efforts which the English and their allies could make to penetrate to that island.

The enemy approach Montreal.

In fact, the Chevalier de Callières no sooner learned that the enemy were approaching, than he without difficulty collected from seven to eight hundred men whom he encamped at la Prairie de la Magdeleine. He then sent out several scouting parties, and a few days after, one of the sons of the Sieur Hertel, to whom he had assigned three Algonquins and an Iroquois of the Mountain to watch the march of the confederates, brought in word, that he had seen a canoe in Sorel river, a little above the Chambly ra-

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 540.

[2] Some memoirs even reduce it to 280 men. *Charlevoix.* This was Major Peter Schuyler's Expedition, as to which, see his Report, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 800; he there makes his force 120 Christians, 80 Mohawks, 66 River Indians: total, 266. The Relation, 1691–2, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 520, says 200 English and a great number of Mohegans and Mohawks. The Histoire de l'Eau de Vie en Canada, p. 180, says 140 English and 80 Mohegans.

pid; that on approaching, he saw that they were Mohawks, who seemed to him to be also on a scout; that he fired on them[1] and brought down five.[2] 1691.

On this report the Governor of Montreal perceived that Chambly was in danger, and he deemed it advisable to send the Sieur de Valrenes[3] to the spot with two hundred men. He ordered him, if the enemy made any movement against that post, to throw himself in and defend it; if they passed on, not to allow himself to be seen but to follow their trail so as to take them in the rear, while he himself attacked them in front. Two other captains, Messrs. de Muys and d'Orvilliers, the Sieur Dupuys, lieutenant in Valrenes' company, and many subalterns, were in this party, which was followed by a number of Indians and provincials, who were to form a corps apart under the command of the Sieur le Bert du Chesne, who was already posted near Chambly.[4] De Calliere's preparations for defence.

Among the domesticated Indians, were three chiefs of great renown; Oureouharé commanded the Hurons of Lorette; Paul, an Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, led the warriors of his town and those of the Mountain, and la Routine, a Temiskaming chief, was at the head of a large party of his nation of Algonquins. For three days those who remained at la Prairie de la Magdeleine, slept in bivouac, when, on the night of August 10th and 11th, which was extremely dark and rainy, weary with previous watches, and soaked with rain, they retired within the fort, where Mr. de Callières was confined to his bed with a violent fever, which had not left him since he started from Montreal.

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[1] N. Y. Col., Doc., ix., p. 521.

[2] De la Potherie, iii, p. 139, adds this.

[3] Clement de Vuault de Valrennes was from St. Jean de la Poterie in the diocese of Beauvais, and descended from the Clements, Marshals of France. He entered the service in 1662. He was on Denonville's expedition, in 1687. Daniel, ii., p. 284. Ferland, ii., 235, N. Y. Col., Doc., ix., p. 359.

[4] N. Y. Col., Doc., ix, p. 521, Benac, Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 77. De la Potherie, iii., p. 139. Faillon, Vie de Mlle Le Ber, p. 122, says Le Ber had 80 Canadians and 80 soldiers.

1691. This fort was thirty paces from the river, on an abrupt elevation between two prairies, one of which, facing a place call La Fourche, is intersected by a little river within cannon-shot of the fort, and a little nearer by a ravine. Between the two is a current on which a mill had been built; on this side to the left of the fort the militia were encamped, and had been joined by some Ottawas who happened to be at Montreal when the alarm was given. The regular troops were encamped on the right, and the officers had pitched their tents opposite on an eminence.[1]

Action of La Prairie de la Magdeleine.

An hour before daybreak, the sentinel posted at the mill perceived men creeping along the height where the fort stood. He immediately fired his piece, called, "To Arms!" and sprang into the mill.[2] They were enemies, who, creeping along between the little river La Fourche and the ravine, gained the bank of the river and took up a position there; then, finding the militia quarters unmanned, drove out the few who remained, and held their ground. Some provincials and six Ottawas were killed in this surprise.[3]

At the sentinel's call, Mr. de St. Cyrque, an old captain, commanding in the absence of Mr. de Callières, marched at the head of the troops, a part of whom followed the river edge, and a part crossed the prairie, passing around the fort. The battalion commanded by Saint Cyrque in person first came in sight of the militia quarters; although that officer was not yet aware that the enemy were in possession, still having some suspicion he halted to get infor-

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[1] Relation, 1691–2. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 521. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 139.

[2] Ib. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 33. This was Aug. 1, O. S., 11, N. S. Schuyler says the sentinel or miller killed one of his Indians, and was firing again from the window when they shot him. Major Peter Schuyler's Journal of his expedition. N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 803.

[3] Relation, &c., 1691–2, N. Y. Col Doc., ix., p. 521. De la Potherie Histoire de l'Amerique Sept., iii., p. 139–40. Both Belmont, Histoire du Canada p. 33, and the Histoire de l'Eau de Vie en Canada, p. 18, ascribe the surprise to a night spent in debauchery. Schuyler, Journal. N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 804, says the Ottawas were under canoes. He claims to have destroyed most of them.

mation. At that moment a volley of musketry opened upon them, mortally wounding him and the Sieur d'Escairac and killing Mr. d'Hosta on the spot.[1] 1691.

The second battalion came up at the moment, led by Mr. de la Chassaigne, and rushed headlong on the enemy, who, after a very vigorous resistance, seeing themselves on the point of having the whole French army upon them, retreated in very good order. Mr. de St. Cyrque was bleeding to death, the artery in the leg being cut, but nothing could induce him to retire within the fort till he saw the enemy turn their backs; and he thus by his intrepidity atoned for his fault in allowing himself to be surprised. He fell dead some moments after, at the very entrance of the fort, and d'Escairac died the next day.[2]

Men were quite surprised to see them allow the enemy to complete his retreat tranquilly, and with an air which was rather that of conquerors than vanquished. Moreover, we had killed only five or six of their men, wounded about thirty and taken a single grenadier at the moment when he was preparing to threw grenades into the fort. Our loss was greater, even without counting the three officers already named. Moreover, they carried off the scalps of several of the French, and uttered loud cries, as though they wished to insult our troops.

Exploit of Mr. de Valrenes.

This inaction resulted from there being no one to command, or perhaps, because every one wished to command; but it did not last. The enemy had nearly entered a wood, when they perceived a small French detachment, commanded by the Sieur Domergue, following closely; they formed an ambuscade into which these brave fellows

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[1] Benac, Relation, Canada Doc. II., vi., p. 77. Register of la Prairie, 1691. Daniel, Nos Gloires, ii., p. 282.

[2] Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 522. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 140. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 34. St. Cyrque is said to have served all his life in the best regiments in France, and to have commanded a battalion in Sicily. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 522. Champigny to the minister, Aug. 12, 1691. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 504, describes the action briefly, and there is quite a detailed account in the Register of La Prairie.

1691. fell and were killed to a man.[1] Still more elated by this new success, the confederates resumed the route by which they had come; but after marching two leagues, their runners discovered Mr. de Valrenes, who, at the first sound of an action, had hastened up with Mr. le Bert and the Indians. The runners had seen only the head of this corps of troops, and the enemy, not thinking it so large, imagined that they could dispose of it as easily as they had of Domergue's. Without a moment's hesitation they attacked it, and that with a resolution that would have disconcerted a commander less firm and less ready than Valrenes. Fortunately for that officer there were at the spot two large fallen trees. A man who knows his business, turns to advantage what would escape the attention of another.[2]

Defeat of the enemy. Loss on both sides.

Valrenes accordingly made breastworks of these trees, placing his men behind, flat on the ground, to receive the first fire of the enemy. He then gave the word to rise, divided them into three bands, each of which fired; then, with incredible presence of mind and celerity, he drew them up in line, and charged the enemy with so much order and vigor, that they gave way on all sides. The allies nevertheless rallied no less than twice; but after a fight of an hour and a half they were compelled to disband and their rout was complete.[3] One hundred and twenty were counted on the field, and it was afterwards ascertained that the wounded far exceeded the killed in number.[4] This action was a very sharp one, and managed

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[1] Domergue was killed in the ravine, with twelve men, and Schuyler took three of the party prisoners. Schuyler's Journal, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 804. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 34. Benac, Relation, Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 78.

[2] Relation, &c., 1691-2. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 522. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Sept., iii., p. 141-2

[3] Schuyler's Journal, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p.804. says that Valrenes was between him and his canoes: that he cut his way through the French, then turned and drove them back. The French accounts admit that Routine was repulsed, in a charge, and that some of Le Bert's Canadians at first gave way.

[4] The Relation, 1691-2, from Indians who counted the dead and in-

with all possible skill. Valrenes was everywhere, bravely exposing his person, and giving his orders with as much sangfroid as if commanding a drill. The young and valiant le Bert Du Chesne distinguished himself extremely at the head of the Canadians, and was mortally wounded,[1] as well as another officer, named Varlet. The three Indian chiefs outdid themselves, and Paul[2] was killed encouraging his Iroquois by word and example to fight to the death against the enemies of the Faith. The English and Mohawks displayed a courage that at first made the victory doubtful. For a long time they fought hand to hand or so near as to blacken each other's faces with powder. The victors took flags and baggage, but de Valrenes would not pursue the fugitives, his men being so spent with fatigue that they could no longer stand or hold their arms. They had indeed been marching three days over frightful roads, unable to take a moment's rest, without provisions, and with nothing but muddy water to quench their thirst.

1691

Valrenes thought that a fresh troop of Iroquois from

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cluding prisoners, and De la Potherie, make English loss 200: The former says that the Mohawks left 30 dead on the field, p. 528. Belmont says Schuyler had 101 killed. De la Potherie says the French lost in all, 40, and had 40 wounded. Schuyler, N. Y. Col. Doc., iii., p. 805, gives his loss, 21 Christians, 16 Mohawks, six River Indians, wounded 25, but reduces his dead by six returned. He estimates French loss in all 200. Colden, History of the Five Nations, p. 129, makes French loss 13 officers, 300 men. He does not give Schuyler's loss, merely saying the Mohawks had 17 killed, 11 wounded. Smith, History of New York, p. 78, makes the French loss 300.

[1] John Vincent Le Ber du Chesne, son of James Le Ber, from Pistre in the diocese of Rouen and of Jane Le Moyne, was a brother of the famous Canadian recluse, Jane Le Ber. He was born at Montreal in 1666, and after receiving his death wound as here stated, was taken to his father's house, and died there, Aug. 13. Faillon, Vie de Mlle. le Ber, p. 125, 303–4, correcting his life of Marguerite Bourgeoys, i., p. 358. James Le Ber was surnamed La Rose and after being ennobled, assumed the name "de Saint Paul."

[2] Paul was a Huron by origin, but was one of the oldest, and the most eloquent of the Dogiques or chiefs of the Mission in La Prairie and the Sault. He seems to have been of the earliest settlers, and was a chief as early as 1675. See Shea's History of the Catholic Missions, pp 303, 323.

[3] Benac, Relation, Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 79.

1691 Sault St. Louis who had started at the sound of the firing, to take part, but who had come up only when the affair was over, might do what his own men were no longer in a condition to attempt; but these Indians, hearing the volleys fired at the funeral of the officers killed in the first action, imagined that a new battle was going on at la Prairie de la Magdeleine; they at once hurried thither, and this error was the salvation of the English and the Mohawks. We had this day sixty men killed and as many wounded, some of whom died, among them, Messrs. le Bert and Varlet. An Englishman taken prisoner by de Valrenes, told him that after the return of this party, a second of four hundred men was to come; that at the same time five hundred Iroquois were to come by Catarocouy, and that their object was to prevent the French from gathering in their crops; but nothing appeared, and the harvest, the loss of which would have reduced the colony to the last extremity, was gathered very tranquilly and proved very abundant.[2]

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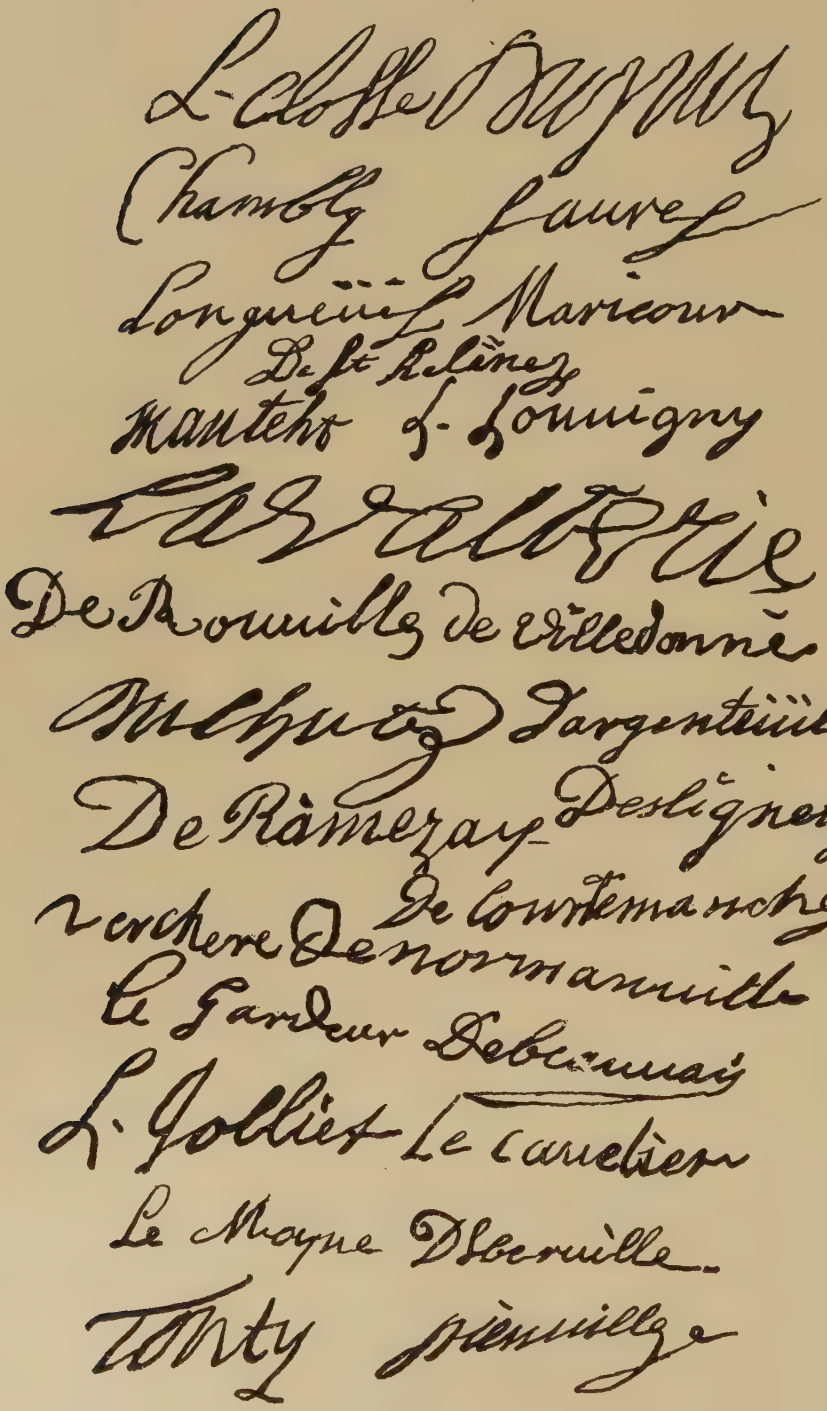
[1] Relation, &c., 1691–2. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 523. Champigny to the Minister, Aug. 12, 1691, describes Valrenes' action briefly. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 504. So too La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 229. Colden in his History of the Five Nations, pp. 127–8, confounds John and Peter Schuyler's expeditions, ascribing the affair to Peter, but making it precede Phipps' attack on Quebec. Smith, History of New York, p. 78, though ignorant of John Schuyler's expedition, corrects Colden's error as to Peter's. Chalmers, Con. Political Annals, p. 74, is also misled. See Historical Magazine, II., iii., p. 263.

BOOK XV.



BOOK XV.

On hearing of the enemy's approach, Frontenac set out from Quebec for Montreal; but on arriving there he learned of their defeat and flight, and at once retraced his steps. Shortly after he received letters from the Governor-General of New England, begging him to restore the prisoners taken by the Abénaquis on his territory, and proposing to him neutrality in America, notwithstanding the war still subsisting between the two Crowns in Europe. It was easy to infer that this proposition was not made sincerely, inasmuch as the English general said nothing of sending back the French detained by him at Boston; and that the only motive for the step, was some difficulty in which New England found itself.

1691.

The English propose neutrality.

The Baron de St. Castin, who had made a considerable establishment among the Abénaquis and even married a a young woman of that tribe, soon solved the enigma in a memoir which he transmitted to de Frontenac. He there stated that the English and Dutch in New York, were at war, and that the object of the English Governor was also to seduce from us the Abénaqui Indians by means of the proposed exchange, or at least to induce them to arrest their incursions, but that he would undertake to baffle the execution of that project.[1]

What induced it.

On this information Frontenac replied to the English General, that when he restored to him the Chevalier d'Eau and Mr. de Manneval, whom he retained as prisoners,

[1] Relation, &c., 1691-2. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 525. Pontchartrain, Oct. 20, 1691. Ib. p. 505.

1691. the former by the treachery of the Iroquois, the latter through the bad faith of Admiral Phibs, he might open negotiations, but without this preliminary he would listen to nothing. He then wrote to the Count de Pontchartrain to lay before him the advantages which the troubles in New York afforded for the conquest of that province; but the Minister replied that the King needed all his forces in Europe,and that his Majesty's views in regard to New France, were confined to a mere prevention of English attempts.

Frontenac's reply.

Although they had entirely recovered at Montreal from the fear inspired by the two large parties mentioned in the preceding Book, men were not entirely tranquil. Minor hostilities continued, few weeks passed without several alarms, and but for the precaution of giving guards to the harvesters, many of the farmers would have been killed while getting in the crops. Oureouharé, who had distinguished himself on so many occasions during the two last campaigns, and quite recently in the last combat under de Valrenes, performed, towards the close of this campaign, an action which effectually determined his position as the ally on whom we could most surely rely.

Exploit of Oureouhare.

He had scarcely reached Montreal after the defeat of the English and Mohawks, when an Iroquois party advanced to Des Prairies river and carried off three Frenchmen; he at once gave chase, and overtaking them at the Flat Rapid, on the route to Cataracouy, killed two men, took four prisoners, and brought back the French to Montreal. Some time after he came down to Quebec to see the Governor General, who loaded him with presents and courtesies; to these he was quite sensible, and on starting back to Montreal, said, with a modesty remarkable in an Indian, that he had not yet done enough to show his obligations to his Father, and the sincerity of his language is evinced by the fact that when several tribes offered to make him their chief, he replied that

he would never attach himself except to the person of Ononthio.[1] 1691.

Ineffectual expedition against the Mohawks.

Meanwhile Frontenac, not content with beholding the failure of the enemies' projects against New France, wished in turn to carry the war into their midst, and as the Mohawks had added perfidy to their old animosity against the French, he resolved to begin with them. Five or six hundred men had orders to enter that canton, and actually took the field. I have been unable to ascertain who was in command of this expedition, but it certainly did not reach the enemy's territory, the condition of the roads and the advanced season having compelled it to return.[1] He was consoled by the arrival of the Sieur d' Iberville from Hudson's Bay with two ships loaded with eighty thousand francs worth of beaver-skins, and over six thousand six hundred livres of smaller furs.[2]

News from Acadia.

He did not remain long at Quebec, but proceeded to France with the view of reviving the projected expedition against Port Nelson, which he knew highly in favor at court. At the same time came in intelligence that the Abénaquis had gained new victories over the English; that the Chevalier de Villebon had reached Port Royal on a vessel commanded by de Bonaventure, who had brought in an English prize, having on board the Chevalier Nelson, and the Sieur Tyne,[3] appointed Governor of Acadia. These two prisoners were some time

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[1] Ib; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 144–5.

[2] There are only vague indications as to this affair; a document Feb 17, 1692, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p., 528, mentions an intended movement against the Mohawks, and Belmont, Histoire du Canada, page 84, speaks of a party for Oneida, under Beaucourt; while de la Potherie, iii., p. 169, and the Relation, 1692-3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 557, mention an abortive expedition against Onondaga.

[3] Relation, &c., 1692, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p., 526.

[4] Tinc, De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique, iii., page 148. Tync, Relation, &c., N. Y. Col., Doc., ix., p., 557. Col. Edward Tyng. He purchased land in Portland, in 1663; removed there in 1680, and next year commanded the fort. He long was one of the Council of Maine, and in 1688 Lt. Col. of Sagadahoc. From Quebec, he was sent to France and died there. Maine Hist. Coll., I., p. 192, 214.

1691. after sent to Quebec, where Frontenac received them quite well. He treated Nelson with great courtesy, not only from gratitude, that gentleman having acted very kindly to the French in several instances, but also because he enjoyed great influence at Boston.[1]

Mr. de Villebon made commandant there.

To return to Acadia. After Admiral Phibs had effected the conquest, the Court of England seemed not anxious to retain it, and Port Royal fell to the strongest, sometimes to the French, sometimes to the English, sometimes abandoned by both alike. The Chevalier de Villebon had, as we have seen, proceeded to Quebec after the loss of the vessel that had taken him to that port. Thence he proceeded to France, laid before the Minister the ease and importance of preventing the English from planting themselves in Acadia, and undertook to effect it with the Abénaquis alone, if he was authorized to put himself at their head.[2]

He was listened to with favor: Mr. de Pontchartrain issued to him a royal commission to command in Acadia, and ordered him to embark for Quebec in the month of June of the current year 1691, there to receive his orders from the Count de Frontenac. His majesty at the same time notified that General, that being informed of the attachment of the Abénaquis Indians to his service, their courage, and all that they had done against the English, and wishing with the help of these brave men to maintain possession of Acadia, until he should deem it expedient to carry out the resolution he had formed of restoring Port Royal, he desired that they should be furnished, in their place of abode, with all the munitions that they had solicited through the Sieur de Villebon, his intention being that they should not be put to the trouble of going to Quebec for them; that with this object he had enjoined the said Sieur de Villebon to go and put himself at their

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 527, 532. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 232.

[2] Villebon to Pontchartrain, Oct 12, 1691. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 506.

head as Commandant in Acadia, with the Sieur de Portneuf, his brother, and lieutenant in his company, and some other Canadian officers to be chosen by the Governor-General. 1691.

Early in July, Villebon anchored off Quebec in the Soleil d'Afrique, the fastest vessel then in Europe,[1] but his affairs were not furthered by his having been so expeditious. In Canada all were convinced that the English were preparing to return, and at such a juncture, the Count de Frontenac did not feel bound to deprive himself of the aid that he might derive from the Soleil d'Afrique; he detained her till the sixth of September, when, believing that he had no longer anything to fear from the English, he permitted the Chevalier de Villebon to depart, after furnishing him with all that his orders required.

He takes possession of Port Royal.

It was not till the twenty-sixth of November that Villebon reached Port Royal; as soon as he weighed anchor he manned his long boat, and embarking with fifty soldiers and two petereros, advanced to the houses where he perceived the English flag, but found no English to guard it. He lowered it, and ran up that of France in its stead. The next day he collected the settlers, and, in their presence, made in his majesty's name a new act of taking possession of Port Royal and all Acadia.[2]

The Sieur des Gouttins, who had come with him to resume the office of Commissaire Ordonnateur, notified him that he had buried a sum of thirteen hundred livres remaining in his hands when Phibs captured the place, and this money was found just as he had left it. The Commissaire, who alone knew of it, and might have appropriated it had he been a less honest man, employed a part to pay an officer what was due him on his salary, and put the rest in the king's treasury. He lost nothing

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[1] She is said to have made seven leagues an hour. *Charlevoix.*

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 526. Emboldened by this, the Indians at Pemaquid seized Hegeman and two others, sent by Gov. Sloughter of N. Y. Hist. MS., xxxviii., p. 212, xxxix., p. 179.

1691. by this conduct: accused some years afterwards of defalcation, the remembrance of this proof of his fidelity and disinterestedness obtained his discharge without an investigation.

Attempt of the Iroquois to surprise Sault St. Louis.

The Iroquois had constantly kept up their hostilities; two Indian women, prisoners in their hands, having escaped early in November, warned the Chevalier de Callières that two parties, of three hundred and fifty men each, were on the march to surprise Sault St. Louis. On this intelligence the Governor sent part of the troops he had at Montreal, to that town, distributed another portion in the neighboring forts, and committed the defence of the city to its inhabitants. A few days after, one of the two parties, coming by way of Lake Ontario, appeared in sight of the Sault, but did not venture out of the woods; the troops marched against these Indians, and for two days there was some sharp skirmishing, with about equal loss on both sides. The enemy, who had counted on a surprise, then retired.

Various hostilities.

This first party comprised Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas; the second, composed of Mohawks, Mohegans, and Oneidas, had taken its route by Lake Champlain; but some having deserted, and the chiefs learning of the retreat of the first, deemed it inexpedient to go any further. There were, nevertheless, forty or fifty men who, detached and in small bands, overran the French settlements, carrying off some settlers, who, in spite of orders, had strayed off.

Towards the end of the month, thirty-four Mohawks near the Mountain of Chambly surprised some Indians of Sault St. Louis, who were hunting there without any precaution, killed four, took eight, some of whom escaped, and hastened to notify the village of what had just happened. Fifty braves immediately gave chase to the enemy, and overtook them near Lake Champlain. The latter, seeing their approach, took post behind some rocks;

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[1] The Marquis de Crisasi commanded. De la Potherie, iii., p. 167.

but the Christians fell upon them with such fury, axe in hand, as to force the intrenchment. Sixteen Mohawks were left dead on the field, fifteen taken, and the prisoners delivered. 1692.

At the commencement of February, 1692, de Callières received orders from de Frontenac to raise a party, and send it to the peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and Ottawa. The Iroquois often went there to hunt in winter, and the Governor-General was informed that great numbers were actually there. De Callières soon gathered three hundred French and Indians, whom he placed under the orders of d'Orvilliers, but that officer having scalded his leg after some days' march, was obliged to return to Montreal, leaving his party under the command of de Beaucourt,[1] a reduced captain who is now Governor of Montreal.

That officer, on arriving at Tonihata island, a short day's march this side of Catarocouy, there met fifty Senecas, who had advanced that far, hunting, intending to follow our settlements and prevent the farmers planting their crops. He attacked them in their cabins on a very stormy day, killed twenty-four, captured sixteen, and delivered an officer named La Plante, taken three years before, and who, not at first recognized in his Indian guise, came very near being killed as an Iroquois.[2]

Here this expedition terminated. From the prisoners they learned that another party of a hundred Iroquois, also of the Seneca canton, were hunting near the Chaudiere Falls on the Ottawa, that it was their design to encamp there as soon as the snow melted; that two hundred Onondagas, commanded by Black Kettle, one of their

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[1] The Chevalier Dubois Bertelot de Beaucourt, a valuable officer, born in 1669; lieutenant in 1691; reduced captain and naval ensign in 1693; fortified Quebec in 1693 and 1712; governor of Three Rivers in 1732: of Montreal in 1739: active during war down to 1748. Daniel, ii., pp. 282, 290, 295. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 519, 871, 1065, x., p. 149.

[2] N. Y. Col. ix., Doc., p. 534. De la Pótherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septent., iii., p. 156, 166–8. La Hontan, i., p. 233, describes the burning of two of the 12 Iroquois prisoners. Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 34, says the Seneca chief, Tateguenondahi, had 60 men, of whom 24 were killed, and 20 taken. Six Chippeways killed, and three chiefs of the Mountain.

1692. bravest chiefs, were to join them and spend the whole pleasant season there, so as to stop all the French who endeavored to go to or from Michillimackinac.

The Iroquois blockade the great river [of the Ottawas.]

As a great convoy from all the North and West, was daily expected, all felt the absolute necessity of sending a good escort to meet it; but de Callières could not strip his district of soldiers, requiring all his troops to protect the people engaged in agricultural labors. He accordingly notified the Count de Frontenac of what he had just heard. The General, convinced that the defeat of fifty Senecas at Tonihata had broken up the designs of the Iroquois, ordered him to dispatch at once, St. Michel with forty Canadian voyageurs to carry his orders to Michillimackinac and to give him an escort of three well armed canoes till he got beyond the Chaudiere Falls.[1]

The Chevalier de Callières obeyed; the escort conducted the Canadians to the designated spot without meeting a single Iroquois; but a few days after St. Michel perceiving trails, and two Iroquois, apparently scouts, had no doubt but that Black Kettle was at hand with all his force, and returned to Montreal. He had but just landed there, when de Frontenac, arriving from Quebec, sent him off again with thirty Frenchmen, and as many Indians. The General ordered Lieutenant Tilly de St. Pierre to follow, taking the Rivière du Lievre, which empties into the Ottawa, five leagues below the Chaudiere Falls, and he gave that officer a duplicate of the order to de Louvigny carried by St. Michel.

His precaution was fortunate. St. Michel arrived at the Portage des Chats,[2] the place where he had turned back on his first attempt, and again saw two scouts, and a great number of canoes just launching. Deeming it imprudent to expose himself to too unequal a contest, he, for the second time, took up his route for Montreal. Three days after reaching there, sixty Indians from the inland, loaded with furs, arrived by way of Rivière du Lievre, announcing that they had met de St. Pierre, beyond all danger. They

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 535. [2] In Onslow Township. [3] Tête de Boules.

traded their furs, and asked an escort to reach the spot where they were again to take the by-ways. 1692.

St. Michel offered to accompany them, and his offer was accepted. An escort of thirty men was assigned to him, commanded by Lieutenant de la Gemeraye who had under him la Fresniere, eldest son of the Sieur Hertel, and another of his brothers, both ensigns. This detachment reached the Long Rapid on the great river (Ottawa,) where it was necessary to make a portage; but while one part of the men was getting up the empty canoes, and the other marching along the bank to cover them, a volley from unseen hands drove off the Indians who formed the second party, and killed or wounded several of the French. Defeat of a French Indian party.

The Iroquois immediately issuing from their ambuscade, rushed furiously on our surviving men, and in the confusion caused by so sudden and unexpected an attack, those who sprang to the canoes overset them, so that the enemy had easy work with men fighting at once against them and against the current which was sweeping them away. La Gemeraye, the two Hertels and St. Michel, nevertheless defended themselves with a valor that would have saved them had not the Indians abandoned them; for it was afterwards ascertained, that Black Kettle had with him only one hundred and forty men and about sixty women and children.

But these officers having soon lost their best men, had no alternative but to embark and retreat with all expedition. Unfortunately, the canoe into which St. Michel and the two Hertels sprang, capsized, and they were all three taken. La Gemeraye and some soldiers were so fortunate as to escape and reach Montreal.[1] There news had just arrived of the escape of the Chevalier d'Eau from Manhattan, and of the continuation of the troubles between the Dutch and English in New York.

For some time no more was heard of the Iroquois, and the Count de Frontenac, who had asked the court for troops, his own not having been recruited for several

[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 157–8. La Hontan, Voyages, i., p. 237.

1692. years, left Montreal, where all was tranquil, so as to be in Quebec on the arrival of the ships from France; but on the 15th of July, when least expected, Black Kettle made a dash into the island at a place called la Chesnaye, and carried off three little Indians who were fishing, and fourteen countrymen who were making hay.

The Iroquois allowed to escape.

As soon as the Chevalier de Callières heard of it, he sent Captain du-Plessys Faber against him with a hundred soldiers, followed by the Chevalier de Vaudreuil at the head of two hundred men. The enemy, seeing himself about to be attacked by superior forces, and that the Sieur de Villedonné, a French officer, taken at the same time as the Sieur de la Plante, had also escaped, took to the woods and fled precipitately, abandoning his canoes and some baggage. He was not pursued, but had time to make other canoes and reach the Ottawa again.

Pursued and some advantage gained.

Villedonné, on arriving at Montreal, told the Governor that the Iroquois had cached quantities of furs on the banks of the Long Rapid. All the detachments were thereupon recalled, and formed into a single corps, to which were attached one hundred and twenty Indians of Sault St. Louis, and the Mountain, and with this little army, the chevalier de Vaudreuil was ordered to pursue the enemy. He was so expeditious as to overtake the enemy's rear, two leagues above the Long Rapid, killing ten men, capturing five with thirteen women, and rescuing the three little Indians, with six of the French. The rest escaped.[1]

Some days after the Sieur de Lusignan, reduced captain, fell into an ambuscade, while passing the Richelieu islands, and was killed at the first volley;[2] la Monclerie, his lieutenant, almost single handed, sustained a continual fire for two hours, and then made a masterly retreat.[3] This intelligence obliged de Frontenac to go up to Mon-

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 160–1, says, nine women and five children taken, and besides the nine prisoners taken at la Chesnaye, three other French prisoners were rescued. The French lost 11, including 4 officers. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 536. Belmont, p. 35.

[2] Narrative, &c., 1691–2. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 536. De la Potherie, Histoire, iii., p. 161, says July 26.

[3] De la Potherie, iii., p. 161.

treal early in August, and he took up three hundred militia, whom he distributed in the most exposed settlements to protect the harvesters. 1692.

In the city he found two hundred Ottawas, who had successfully run all the passages; but they had not ventured to bring down their furs, de St. Pierre having warned them of Black Kettle's presence on the Ottawa. That officer even exhorted them, conformably to Frontenac's order to him, not to start till they had certain intelligence of the departure of the Iroquois; but their utter want of munitions and provisions had prevented their longer delay.[1]

Frontenac proposes an expedition. The Ottawas decline.

Frontenac received them cordially, and proposed an expedition against the common enemy which the domiciliated Iroquois and Hurons and Abénaquis had for some time desired; but the Ottawas refused to join, either from lack of good will, or more probably because they thought it wrong to make any engagements without the consent of their sachems.[2] The General was consoled, when, a few days later, he received a letter announcing that the ships had arrived from France, but without any recruits; for he needed all his forces to maintain his posts, most of which would have been left unmanned, had he, depending on reinforcements from France, detached part of his troops with the Indians, as he had proposed. As soon as the Ottawas started, he returned to Quebec, where the Chevalier d'Eau arrived almost at the same time as he.[3]

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[1] Narrative, &c., 1691–2. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 537. De la Potherie iii., p. 162.

[2] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 162. Great fears were felt at Albany, however, and many deserted their farms. Proclamation Mch. 19, 1692, Albany MS., xxxviii., p. 85, p. 124.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 543. De la Potherie, iii., p. 163 The narrative of d'Aux was apparently used by De la Potherie. After seeing his attendants butchered, and being tied to the stake himself, he was taken to New York, and there harshly treated. He escaped, but was retaken at New London, and sent to Boston, whence he escaped, see N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 533. His Indian name is given as Dionakarondé Ib., iv., p. 121.

1692. While the Iroquois alone thus kept the centre of the colony in constant alarm, Placentia and Acadia were in scarcely less difficulty to defend themselves against the English. Intelligence received by Frontenac and communicated to the Court, that Sir (William) Phibs, having become Governor-General of New England, was seriously thinking of once more attempting the conquest of New France, had been confirmed from other quarters so circumstantially, that the King and his minister felt it necessary to take positive measures to check the English in the St. Lawrence. Proper as were the measures adopted they would not have prevented the passage of the enemy, had they appeared.[1]

New rumors of an English expedition.

The Chevalier du Palais sailed from France with a squadron, which was first to engage the English fleet, should it attempt to force a passage, and then take his opportunity to fall on the posts occupied by the English on the island of Newfoundland. That officer stopped for some time at Spaniard Bay,[2] detaching a vessel to the mouth of the river to reconnoitre, with orders to the captain, in case it saw the enemy, to return at once and report. After cruising a long time in the gulf, and the mouth of the river, the officer thus detached, seeing nothing, sailed back towards Spaniard Bay at the time designated, but encountered such a furious and stubborn wind, that after many fruitless efforts to rejoin the squadron, he was compelled to go before the wind and return to France.

The king sends a French squadron to Newfoundland. It misses its opportunity.

This accident entirely disconcerted the projects of the Chevalier du Palais, who, while awaiting this ship, lost all the time he might have employed in the enterprises assigned to him. His mortification was doubtless redoubled when he learned in what peril the Newfoundland colony had been, and what an opportunity he had lost of capturing an English fleet, for apparently that squadron could

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[1] Memoir on the projected attack on Canada, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 543.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Sept., iii., p. 175, and Relation, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 561. Dr. O'Callaghan, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 544, makes it Sydney Harbor, Cape Breton.

not have coped with him, since it failed before a mere shell containing at most fifty inhabitants, and in vain attacked a wretched fort, garrisoned by only fifty men. It happened thus:[1] 1692.

When the fleet of French merchantmen which had come to fish off Newfoundland, was ready to sail home, du Brouillan, the Governor of Placentia, was informed, on the 14th of September, that an English fleet lay at anchor five leagues from that port in a bay near Cape St. Mary's. The intelligence was correct, and the next day the squadron anchored in sight of the roadstead, but out of range. The Governor at once formed a company of sixty men under the Baron de la Hontan, a reduced captain, who had recently been sent to him from Quebec. He is the same person whose Memoirs we have on Canada, a work which is seen at a glance to have been dictated by the spirit of irreligion, and by resentment at having been dismissed from the service.[2] Placentia attacked by the English.

This detachment held a post where there was every reason to expect that the enemy would attempt a landing, and from which he might then gain the summit of a mountain, and silence the guns of the fort by his musketry. Still the English made no movement that day, except to sound the harbor. On the 17th all their boats, full of soldiers, approached the bay, where la Hontan was posted; perceiving him before they came within musket shot, they changed their course. They ran in behind a little cape, where they hastily put some men ashore, who set fire to the woods, and re-embarked with the same precipitation. They doubtless hoped, by the favor of this conflagration, to reconnoitre the situation of the fort and other posts occupied by the French, but time was not allowed them. During this interval, de Brouillan, after providing, as far as in him lay, for the safety of the fort, threw up a log redoubt on the mountain alluded to, and on the 18th, plant-

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[1] See briefly, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 544, 546.

[2] See ante, vol. iii., p. 286, i., p, 86.

1692. ed a four-gun battery on the Pointe du Goulet, at the other side of the mouth of the Basin, both to render the Goulet inaccessible to the enemy, and to defend the cables with which he had closed it. Moreover the merchantmen had drawn up in line to dispute the passage which the English durst not attempt.

They summon the General. At noon, on the same day, a boat was seen advancing with a white flag; the Governor sent a sergeant to meet it, and the officer in charge having told this man that he wished to speak to the commandant, was taken to the fort blindfolded. Mr. de Brouillan asked him what this commission was, and he replied, that he came in the name of Mr. Williams, his general, to salute him, and beg him to send an officer on board, to whom he might explain the object of his voyage. He added that there were on board the squadron, a French ship captain and several sailors, prisoners of war, and that an arrangement might be made in regard to them.

The Governor, seeing no objection to granting this request, dispatched de la Hontan and Pastour, a nephew of Mr. de Costebelle, and lieutenant in his company, to the English general, who received them with great courtesy and dismissed them without telling them anything. On their return, the English officer already mentioned, and another, who had remained as hostages in the fort, were also sent back; but the former, before embarking, declared to the Governor that he had orders to tell him that they were sent to take possession of Placentia in the name of William III., King of Great Britain, and that General Williams summoned him to surrender the place, and all possessed by the French in the Bay. To this summons Mr. de Brouillan replied as became him, and the officers retired.

The attack begins. La Hontan and Pastour had reported that the Albans, the English admiral's ship, carried seventy-two guns, that there were two others of apparently nearly the same force, the Plymouth and Galère; a frigate smaller, and a store-ship of 28 guns. The manœuvre of the preceding evening, however, induced a belief that there were few land troops

on board this squadron. On the 19th, the besiegers, who had reckoned on taking only one post, found three: Fort St. Louis, the redoubt on the Mountain, and the battery at the Pointe du Goulet. The sight of this seemed to astonish them; for the same day Admiral Williams sent to inform Mr. de Brouillan, that when he wished to make any proposition, he need only raise a red flag. 1692.

The Governor seeing that Williams lowered his tone because he distrusted the success of his enterprise, was the first to open fire. The English at once replied, and for four hours their fire was quite heavy. That of the fort was moderate, de Brouillan wishing to economize his ammunition, his supply being but small; but his guns were better handled, for after six hours fight, the flagship was seen running before the wind and drawing out of the line. The French were almost down to their last charge of powder, and were using only the enemy's balls, picked up in the houses; nearly every building being riddled by them.

The merchantmen, the captains and crews of which showed great alacrity, were not better supplied; but one hundred and twenty men whom they landed, and who were encouraged to exertion by the presence and words of the officers, were of great assistance in the batteries. Towards evening the four ships, which remained in line, retired one after another; but the Governor, unable to imagine that so strong a squadron had only two thousand shots to fire, had no doubt but that they would renew the attack the next day.

He accordingly labored diligently to repair the breaches made in his ramparts and batteries by the cannon, and as he had only five or six men hors du combat, the work was done in six hours. On the 20th a French prisoner on the English Admiral's ship escaped, and reported to the Governor that the enemy seemed very irresolute as to what they should do; that they had not expected to find Placentia so well fortified, and that the crews murmured loudly against so ill concerted an expedition.

1692.

The siege raised.

In fact they soon drew off and proceeded to burn the houses on Pointe Verte, a league from Fort St. Louis. As soon as de Brouillan saw them turn in that direction, he suspected their design, and sent a considerable force to dispute their landing; but a heavy rain storm which came up, retarded the soldiers on their march, and when they reached Pointe Verte, all the houses, or, to speak more accurately, all the cabins were consumed by fire. This was the sole fruit derived by Williams from his expedition.[1] On his retreat he was very fortunate in not encountering the Chevalier du Palais, and thus the English and French alike missed their object; the latter in consequence of unforeseen accident, and perhaps from lack of precaution, for what was the good of going to shut himself up in Spaniard Bay, the former for presuming too much on the weakness of the enemy whom they were to attack.

The Governor of New England wishes to have the Chevalier de Villebon carried off.

Both parties met about the same fortune on the coast of Acadia, and for almost the same reason. The new Governor of New England chafed at being prevented by the intestine dissensions which disturbed New York, from attempting once more the conquest of New France. To deliver himself at least from all disquiet in regard to Acadia, he resolved to carry off the Chevalier de Villebon from his fort on St. John's river,[2] where that commander had stationed himself, while awaiting reinforcements from France, to enable him to establish himself at Port Royal. He sent a ship of 48 guns, with two brigantines there, the three vessels carrying 400 men.

Villebon was far from having means to resist so large a force; yet he would not lose his post without at least making a show of defence; but he did not require to go to much expense for this. He sent a small detachment of

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[1] La Hontan, Voyage, i., pp. 242–6, gives his account of this affair, which Charlevoix mainly follows. He makes the English loss six; the French one wounded. Compare Journal du Mouvement que les Ennemis ont fait, 14–21 Sept., 1692. Canada Doc., III., iii., pp. 146–153; Relation de l'attaque de 5 vaisseaux. Ib., 153–160. Lettre de M. du Brouillan Ib. 160.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 532, 544.

French and Indians down the river, in order to obtain early intelligence of the landing of the enemy which he could not prevent. The English perceiving this detachment, and supposing it much greater than it really was, feared to be compelled to engage in a doubtful contest, and retired.[1] 1692. He fails.

This failure greatly chagrined Sir (William) Phibs, but he soon had his consolation. The English had recently returned to Pemkuit, and restored their fort, from which they greatly annoyed the Indians of that district. The Chevalier de Villebon had represented to the Count de Frontenac the necessity of expelling them forever from a post which exposed us to the danger of losing our best allies, and which at least thwarted all their enterprises against New England. The General felt the importance of this project; and thought that he had found a favorable opportunity to effect it.[2]

D'Iberville had also left France with the design and express orders from court to go and attack Port Nelson. He had embarked on the Envieux, a royal vessel commanded by de Bonaventure; and he was to meet, at Quebec, with the Poli,[3] another royal vessel, on which he was to embark. The Northern Company agreed to furnish two other vessels. It was his Majesty's intention that d'Iberville should, after capturing Port Nelson, remain there to guard it, and send back the Poli to France, in charge off his lieutenant. Enterprise against Pemkuit.

But the Envieux sailed from la Rochelle so late, and met such contrary winds, that it anchored off Quebec only on the 18th of October. This was much too late for any

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[1] Church, in August, pushed on to the Penobscot, and may have led his party to the St. Johns. Church's Indian Wars, ii., pp. 84-5. Mather's Magnalia, B'k. VII., p. 81; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, ii., p. 69; as I find no other expedition of the kind.

[2] York was destroyed Feb. 5, 1692, O.S. by French and Indians. Mather's Magnalia, ii., p. 530-1, and Wells attacked June 10, O. S. Ib., 532-6. Williamson's Maine, 628-34 Fort William Henry, at Pemaquid was rebuilt in Aug., 1692. Ib., p. 635.

[3] "A great Dutch square sterned ship" of 500 tons, 38 guns; and a frigate of 34, the flagship. Nelson to Gen. Court of Massachusetts, Aug. 26, 1692. Hutchinson, Mass., Hist. i., p. 338.

1692. expedition to Hudson's Bay; hence it was necessary to think of employment elsewhere for an armament which it would have been a pity to leave idle. The siege of Pemkuit was proposed to d'Iberville and de Bonaventure, who joyfully accepted it. They immediately sailed for Acadia, and after a conference with the Chevalier de Villebon, it was resolved among them that the two royal vessels should besiege it by sea, while the Chevalier attacked it on land at the head of the Indians.

Its failure. This arrangement adopted, the Poli and Envieux steered to Pemkuit; but the two commandants finding an English ship anchored under the guns of the fort,[1] and having neglected the precaution of taking a coast pilot on board, or finding none, they deemed it imprudent to go into action on a coast which they did not know. They accordingly had to return without doing anything, which greatly displeased the Indians, who had flocked there in great numbers, in the hope of being soon delivered from a neighbor who incommoded them greatly.[2]

Men were astonished, that d'Iberville, never suspected of a lack of either zeal or bravery, did not make every effort to come with honor out of an expedition on which he had seemed to offer himself so cordially, and those envious of his glory seized on this affair; but it is very probable that he had reckoned on surprising Pemkuit, and had not taken proper measures for carrying it by storm. It was afterwards ascertained that what saved the fort, was the information given to the English commandant by two soldiers, deserters, of the preparations making against him at Quebec, and that the desertion of these two rene-

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[1] Maj. Church was then at Pemequid rebuilding the fort, and mentions a man of war as there at the time, although he gives no name. Church's Indian War, ii., p. 86. He makes no allusion to the appearance of the French vessels.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 544, 552, 555. The Canada Documents contain only one document of Villebon, d'Iberville, and de Bonaventure in regard to ransoming some women and children held as hostages by the English. Series III., vol. i., p. 219.

gades had been planned by the Chevalier Nelson, still a prisoner in that capital.[1] 1692.

Such was then, at all points, the condition of New France. The English seemed little to be feared, and asked, apparently, only to be let alone in their settlements and trade. The Iroquois, like those swarms of flies that annoy more than they injure, incessantly disquieted the colony without inflicting any great injury; or at least they alarmed it more for the future than for the present, for it was always a diversion on which the English could depend, when their domestic troubles enabled them to unite all their forces against us. Actual condition of New France

This situation, far different from that in which the colony had been two years before, was in a great degree the result of the vigilance, activity, and firmness of the Count de Frontenac. The lofty manner in which he had repressed the superiority of the enemy, the efficacious means he had employed to render his allies more docile, and to re-establish the honor of the French arms, made him feared by the one, and respected by the other. In one word his own glory and the felicity of the peoples he governed would have lacked nothing, had he combined the virtues of his predecessor with these great qualities. Complaint against Mr. de Frontenac.

But at the very time that men rendered him all the justice due to his eminent talents, and his devotion of them to give the colony lustre abroad and security within, they found, nevertheless, much in his conduct to censure. Many complained that through indulgence for the officers, of whose esteem and attachment he was very jealous, he let all the burthen of the war fall on the colonists, ruining them by exactions of service, while the soldiers had all liberty to work for the profit of their captains, who de-

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 544, 552, 555. Phipps rebuilt Pemaquid in pursuance of instructions. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii., p 68. Maine Hist. Coll, v. p 282; vi., p. 283. The two deserters were Arnaud Du Vignon, and Francis Albert. Nelson's letter, Aug. 26, 1692. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, i., p. 338.

1692. rived large revenues from their gains; hence it ensued that the colony gained no strength, and trade languished.

A still more serious and universal complaint arose from the open favor which he continued to give to the liquor trade, or at least his toleration on this point, as culpable as favor even, in a Governor who had, more than any other, the gift of inspiring obedience when he wished. Those who looked more closely into the disorder produced by the wretched traffic, and whom the visible decline of the towns of Christian converts kept in constant alarm, were compelled, for fear of aggravating the evil by wishing to remedy it, to mourn in secret, and they counted it as little, that their very lives were often in danger amid their neophytes, infuriated by liquor. But all the world did not feel bound to observe a similar reserve, and many sought to bring to the throne itself, a knowledge of a disorder, which the Sovereign's power alone could in future arrest. The following is what the Abbé de Brisacier wrote on the 17th of September, 1693, to the King's Confessor:

"It seems absolutely necessary that his Majesty be informed of the brutalities and murders recently committed in the streets of Quebec, by Indian men and women intoxicated with liquor, who in that state gave way to everything, without shame or fear. The Intendant (Mr. de Champigny,) moved by these horrible excesses, and constrained by his instructions to write nothing here except in concert with the Governor, states, that if he is ordered to lay the truth before the Court, he will do so; but as the evil presses, and the fact is attested by several letters of trustworthy persons, extracts from which will be given you, this unrestricted sale of liquors must be again arrested, not only to prevent offence to God, by the continuation of so many crimes, but also to retain in our alliance, the Indians, who leave and abandon us at the present pressing crisis of the war. You only, my very reverend Father, are in a condition to speak; the cause of the Lord, and the public weal of New France, are in your hands: your zeal will not be unrewarded."

It is evident from what this letter[1] says, and still more from what it implies, why Mr. de Frontenac had been persuaded that the Indians should be mingled and confounded with the French, and the reasons why the missionaries opposed it. 1692.

Meanwhile the desertion of the two soldiers who had caused the failure of d'Iberville's Pemkuit expedition gave the Governor-General no little anxiety, especially as several Dutch prisoners at Montreal and Quebec, had escaped at the same time; and all were soon convinced that these evasions were also the result of Nelson's plotting, and that greater liberty than it was expedient to give a prisoner of his importance had been allowed that gentleman. There was, too, every reason to fear that he had transmitted to Boston, by these same deserters, information which the English might use to the prejudice of New France.[2] Anxiety of Frontenac, and its ground.

What increased the Count de Frontenac's embarrassment was the failure of all his repeated instances to obtain reinforcements of men and munitions from France; and should the Governor of New England decide to make an effort to take advantage of our weakness, the whole Colony was in great danger of succumbing. It was consequently deemed necessary to employ all means to arrest the deserters before they reached Boston: but all the exertions used, were unavailing. It was even too late to think of it, as there could be little doubt of their having already reached Pemkuit, and consequently that the evil dreaded had been already done.

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[1] See the Histoire de l'Eau de Vie en Canada, Quebec, 1840. Lettre de M. Dollier à un de ses amis. Canada Doc., II., vi., p. 82.

[2] The deserters were caught. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 561, and executed in presence of Nelson. The letter to Massachusetts is dated Aug. 26, 1692. Williamson's Maine, i., p. 637. John Nelson was a nephew of Sir Wm. Temple, and had been in America from about 1670. Having been sent in 1691 to put Col. Edward Tyng in command of Port Royal, was captured. He was finally sent to France and confined at Angouleme, and in the Bastile, and released only after four years and a half imprisonment, when he was allowed to go to England on parole. He did not return to his family till after an absence of ten or eleven years. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 211, n. Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., i., p. 337.

1692

To crown the difficulties, tidings came in, that a corps of eight hundred Iroquois had been seen within three days' march north of Albany, on their way to attack us. It was subsequently ascertained that these savages had divided in two nearly equal bands, one to descend by Lake Champlain, the other by Lake St. Francis; their design being to unite near Sault St. Louis, intrench themselves there, then, by hollow negotiations, allure as many inhabitants of that Indian town as possible, and butcher all who fell into their hands.

The colony attacked by eight hundred Iroquois.

It was at first thought that there was no better plan than to advance to meet these two army corps; but this required more troops than it was possible to send against them; for it would not have been prudent to strip the country of all its forces in the actual uncertainty whether, while they were marching upon the enemy by the two routes they were said to have taken, the Iroquois might not turn off and fall upon quarters where they were not expected. It was accordingly deemed more expedient to hold themselves on their guard at all points.

Precaution taken by Mr. de Callieres.

On their side the Indians of the Sault promised to meet by stratagem the snare intended to be laid for them, and to enable them to sustain a sudden assault, in case of need, a reinforcement of soldiers and munitions was sent to the Marquis de Crisasy, who commanded in their town. Forts Chambly and Sorel were also placed in a state to defy insult; the settlers were again forbidden to go too far from their houses, and all officers ordered to remain at their posts. These precautions, due mainly to the wisdom and vigilance of the Governor of Montreal, were crowned with merited success.

The party, which came by way of Lake St. Francis, appeared in sight of Sault St. Louis; but as they learned that the French expected them, and were so strong as to entertain no fears, they contented themselves with firing several volleys, more like a bravado than a serious attack. They were answered in the same style, and that very even-

ing they retreated. The other party came up subsequently, and acted in the same way, but three hundred of them remained on an island in Lake Champlain, to see whether our men would not grow weary of being under arms at Sault St. Louis, so that they might profit by some lucky chance. At last, learning that we were constantly well on our guard, they got tired of waiting, and took up their route for their own country.[1]

1692.

The Iroquois retire without doing anything.

Then the Count de Frontenac resolved to do the Mohawks all the evil that they had intended to do us: for it was this canton that had mainly made up the last party. Moreover, their pretended relations with the Indians of Sault St. Louis always disturbed the General, much more indeed than they should have done. He accordingly dispatched to the Chevalier de Callières, two hundred Canadians, some Hurons from Lorette, Abénaquis from the Falls of the Chaudiere, Algonquins and Sokokis from the neighborhood of Three Rivers, with orders to add a hundred more Canadians from his own district, a hundred soldiers and Iroquois from the Sault, and the Mountain; to form them all into an army corps, and to send it forthwith against the Mohawks.[2]

Irruption into the Mohawk canton. 1693.

These orders were executed with extreme diligence; the force was composed of six hundred men.[3] De Callières assigned the command to Lieutenants de Mantet, de Courtemanche and de la Noue,[4] and on the 25th of Janu-

[1] This year 1692, even amid the war, witnessed the establishment at Montreal of a General Hospital by Francis Charon of Blois, who formed a community of Hospital Brothers, They obtained Letters Patent in 1694 and 1718. Edits et Ordonnances, i., p. 277, 389. Charon went to France in 1719, to get auxiliaries, and died on his voyage back, soon after leaving Rochelle. This led to the speedy extinction of the work. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 352. His earliest and most faithful associate was Peter Le Ber, brother of the Recluse, and the first Canadian painter. Faillon, Vie de Mlle. le Ber, p. 329. Vie de Mme. d'Youville, p. 23, &c., ante, p. 207.

[2] Narrative of Military Operations, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 550. Relation, 1692–3. Ib., p. 557.

[3] De la Potherie says, more than 600, with thirty officers; the Narrative of Military Operations says 526.

[4] De Manteht led the van with the forces from Three Rivers; de Courtemanche followed with those of Quebec. Relation, &c., 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 557.

1693. ary, all embarked at Montreal.[1] Nothing had been neglected to ensure the success of this expedition, and so completely had they reckoned on the entire destruction of the Mohawk canton, that they had recommended to the commandants to give quarter to no man able to bear arms, to put them all to the point of the sword, without retaining any as prisoners, and to bring away the women and children to people the two Christian towns of their nation.

Success of the expedition.

But more than one experiment should have taught our generals, that these projects were not as easily executed as they imagined. On the 16th of February, the army arrived in the Mohawk canton undiscovered. This canton seems then to have been composed of only three towns, each having a fort. La Noue[2] attacked the first, and captured it without much resistance; he burned the palisades, cabins, and all the provisions. Mantet and Courtemanche had as easy a time with the second, which was only a quarter of a league from the first, and as several prisoners were taken in each town, Courtemanche was appointed to guard them.[3]

The third, and larger town,[4] cost them more. La Noue and Mantet arrived there on the night of the 18th, and found them chanting the war song. There were forty-eight Mohawks, who, unconscious of what was going on in their neighborhood, were preparing to join a party of fifty Oneidas, and then reinforce a body of two hundred English, who were preparing to make an irruption into the colony. The French attacked them without hesitation, and the Mohawks, although surprised, defended themselves with great valor; twenty, with some women, were killed at the first onset, and two hundred and fifty prisoners taken.[5]

[1] They moved that way from La Prairie. Ib., 558. De la P., iii., p. 170.

[2] La Noue, lieut. in 1692. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. p. 539, died 1734. Ib. x., 1042.

[3] De la Potherie, Histoire iii., p. 171. Relation, &c., 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 558. Narrative of Military Occur. Ib., pp. 550–1.

[4] Tionondaga (N. Y. Col. Doc., iv. p. 16, Beyard and Lodowick, p. 20,) or Teonontiogen, (see ante vol. ii., p. 146, n.) near Fort Hunter.

[5] Ib., p. 558; the Narrative, &c. pp. 550–1, makes only 80 fighting men in the three towns, of whom the French killed 18 or 20, and took the rest. De la Potherie does not state loss, but says 30 French Indians fell in the assault, or died of intoxication. Hist de l'A. S., iii. 171.

1693.

As stated already, the Governor of Montreal, had, above all, urged them to give quarter only to the women and children, and this the Indians promised, but did not keep their word. They were the more inexcusable, as they had been warned that they would be pursued on their return. To this first fault, they added another, which was compelling the French to intrench, after two days' march, to await the enemy who had immediately pursued them.

Our men attacked on their homeward march.

The Iroquois of Sault St. Louis especially were responsible for this strange proceeding; but they had almost all come from the Mohawk canton; a lingering love of country, the hopes some gave out of their settling among them and the impossibility of their subsisting in their own canton just ravaged, were motives capable of inspiring them with some compassion for persons who were so closely connected with them. It would, one would think, have been prudent to foresee this, and dispense with them in an expedition against their own brethren. Be that as it may, they were soon punished for their indocility.

The army, although it had scarcely provisions enough to reach Montreal, waited two days for the enemy: he appeared at last, and also intrenched. It was the same party that had assembled at Oneida and had not had patience to wait for the English. Our men charged them three times with great resolution. They made a vigorous defence, and their intrenchment was forced only at the third attack. We had eight French and eight Indians killed, and twelve wounded, including de la Noue. The loss of the Oneidas was scarcely greater; the rest escaped; but they soon rallied, and for three days continued to follow the army, though without venturing to approach, as long as they marched together.[1]

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[1] Narrative of Military Occurrences, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 552. Relation, &c., 1692–3. Ib., p. 559–560, says seven French killed and 15 wounded. De la Potherie, iii., p. 173, says, eight killed, 15 wounded. The party pursuing was commanded by Maj. Peter Schuyler, and consisted of 273 whites, and 290 Indians. They came up to the French, Feb. 17, 1693, O. S. Major Peter Schuyler's Report to Fletcher. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 17–18. Beyard and Lodowick, Journal of the late Ac-

1693. At last, the bad roads and the want of provisions having compelled them to disband, a large number of prisoners escaped, and only sixty-four were brought into Montreal. It was on the 17th of March, that the fragments of this victorious army reached Montreal, to announce, on the statement of some of their prisoners, that the English were to descend on Montreal in the Spring, to the number of three thousand, while a fleet of the same nation, also carrying three thousand soldiers, was to lay siege to Quebec.

New tidings of a great English expedition against Canada.

This was the third time within two years, that these threats had been made; but to all appearance, this one might be carried out. D'Iberville had announced the same thing from Acadia; he added that the two soldiers, who had deserted from Quebec the year before, and who had been dispatched by the Governor of New England to assassinate the Baron de St. Castin, had just been taken, and that it was known from their depositions that the Chevalier Nelson had sent to General Phibs a detailed account of the actual condition of the Capital.[1]

This intelligence led de Frontenac to believe that he ought not to lose a moment in fortifying that place,[2] as well as repairing forts Chambly and Sorel. He even sent orders to Montreal, to throw up some intrenchments there.[3]

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tions of the French at Canada, pp. 15–27. He admits the three attacks of the French, but not the success of the last. He gives his own loss, four whites, four Indians killed; 14 wounded; and makes the French loss at least, 27 killed, 26 wounded. He represents the Mohawks as not pursuing vigorously, fearing that the French would kill the prisoners. On the first intelligence, Fletcher hastened up to Albany with troops. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 14; Beyard and Lodowick, pp. 7–8. Colden's Hist. Five Nations, 2nd Edition, pp. 146–7, follows Schuyler's report, but censures him for not demanding the surrender of the French. Smith in his History of New York, pp. 81–2, professes to follow Colden and Charlevoix. Fletcher, N. Y. Col. Doc. iv., p. 41, makes the total French loss on the expedition 80, and 33 wounded.

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 175. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 552.

[2] The Chevalier de Beaucour,' reduced captain and naval ensign, was the engineer at Quebec. De la Potherie, p. 175–6. Relation, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 561. Ante, p. 217.

[3] A fort with four bastions, and a ditch, was thrown up on a hill commanding the town. Ib., p. 178. The Chevalier St. Jean commanded at Sorel, and Desbergeres at Chambly Ib. p. 178

On his side, de Callières put several parties in the field, to endeavor to take prisoners, so as to acquire better information of the designs of the English. La Plaque, who commanded one of these parties, brought to him a Frenchman, taken at sea four years before, who confirmed all that the Mohawks and d'Iberville had said. He added, that the various governors of the English places, which are between Boston and Virginia, had assembled in the month of March of this year, to decide how many men each should furnish, and that they were actually raising soldiers at Albany; that Boston was designated as the general rendezvous on the twentieth of April, that the force was to be ten thousand men, six thousand of whom were to be landed by the fleet.[1] 1693.

Another point gave the Count de Frontenac still more anxiety. There were great stores of furs at Michillimackinac, and the Indians did not venture to bring them down to Montreal without an escort, which he was not in a position to send them. It was, nevertheless, highly important to obtain these peltries, and still more so, to communicate to the Sieur de Louvigny the intelligence just received, and instruct him how to act in the delicate emergency. Frontenac's embarrassment.

At last the general proposed to the Sieur d'Argenteuil, a reduced lieutenant, and brother of Mantet, to go up to Michillimackinac. That officer cheerfully accepted the dangerous duty, but it was only by great promises that Frontenac could induce eighteen Canadians to accompany him. Mr. de la Valtrie[3] had orders to escort them beyond all the dangerous points, with twenty Frenchmen and some Christian Iroquois, and it was found necessary to pay both a round sum daily. The instructions sent to de

[1] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 179.

[2] Peter d'Ailleboust, Sieur d'Argenteuil, fourth son of d'Ailleboust de Musseaux, lieutenant in 1691; captain in 1710; Daniel, i., 22; ii., p. 283; served at Michillimackinac. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 569–696; died of apoplexy, in 1711. Ib., p. 855

[3] Daniel, (ii., p. 276,) supposes this officer to have been the one who was lieutenant in the Regiment Carignan Salieres, and became captain in 1687, but as he was a Canadian, and merely an ensign, (New York Colonial Documents, ix., p. 562,) he was probably a son of the French officer.

1693. Louvigny, directed him to retain within his command only French enough to guard the posts, and to send all the rest down with the convoy. D'Argenteuil made the trip safely; but de la Valtrie, on his way back, was attacked near Montreal Island, by an Iroquois party, who defeated him, killing him, and three other Frenchmen; an Iroquois of the Mountain was taken, all the rest escaped.[1]

Propositions of peace from an Oneida chief.

Amid these hostilities, appeared some gleams of peace On the 10th of June, Tareha, an Oneida chief, arrived at Montreal, with St. Amour, a resident of that town, who had been four years a prisoner among the Iroquois. He proposed to the Chevalier de Callières, to exchange this man for a nephew of his, and presented him a letter from Father Milet, who had been all this time a prisoner at Oneida. This religious stated, that Tareha was very well disposed, and that credit could be given to all he said.

The Chevalier de Callières at once dispatched him to Quebec, where the Governor General cheerfully consented to exchange his nephew for St. Amour. Emboldened by this welcome, Tareha presented to the Count de Frontenac belts on behalf of the chief cabins or families of Oneida, and especially of his own, in which he said Father Milet had been adopted. Lastly, to convince the General completely of the uprightness of his conduct, he warned him to be on his guard, especially at harvest time.

He nevertheless assured him that the cantons were not far from peace, that the families[3] which deputed him, had long, earnestly desired it; that they had deferred asking peace only from fear of appearing before their justly incensed Father; that he had at last risked his own safety for the general good, hoping that his frankness would be

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[1] Narrative of Military Operations, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 553. Ensign la Valtrie was killed endeavoring to land. De la Potherie, iii., p. 176. Relation, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 562. De Belmont gives the date as May 28, 1693. Histoire du Canada, p. 35, Ononari was taken. The place was below the Brulé Rapid. A Dutch prisoner's statement, (Beyard and Lodowick, Jour. of the late Action, p. 31) makes the French loss 107.

[2] Relation de la guerre, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 553.

[3] See ante ii. p 146, n.

his safeguard, and that he saw evidently that he was not mistaken; and that if he was so fortunate as to reconcile his nation with the French, his intention was to come and spend the rest of his days with his brethren at Sault St. Louis. 1693. The general's reply..

The general was too familiar with protestations of the kind, to be deceived; and the testimony of a missionary who was not at liberty, did not seem to him a sufficient proof of the sincerity of this one. Yet, loth to dispel all Tareha's hope, he replied that although the horrible perfidy of the Onondagas in regard to the Chevalier d'Eau and the other Frenchmen, who had gone among them under the safeguard of the law of nations, and to restore them Iroquois, just returned from France; and the unheard of cruelties, daily wreaked in all the cantons, on the French prisoners, justified his retaliating on him, still he would hearken to a last speck of affection for his children, who no longer deserved the name; that Tareha had, therefore, nothing to fear either for his life, or, even for his liberty; but that if all the cantons sincerely desired to enter into negotiations with him, they should hasten to send him deputies; that he consented to wait in patience till the end of September; but that term passed, he would hearken only to his just indignation. Tareha promised to return at that time, come what would, and very joyfully started for Oneida.[1]

A few days after the Count de Frontenac received a letter from Father Binneteau,[2] a missionary to the Abénaquis, announcing that the English fleet had sailed from Boston, and the next day, St. Michel, captured the year before on the way to Michillimackinac, arrived at Que-

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[1] N. Y. C. D. p. 566. De la Potherie, iii., 179–182. Milet to Dellius, July 31, 1693. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv, p. 49. Report from Oneyda. Ib. p. 77.

[2] Julian Bineteau came from France in 1691, was in Maine, as here stated, in 1693; on the St. Lawrence in 1694. He succeeded Gravier in the Illinois mission, and died there Dec. 25, 1699. Father Martin, in Carayon's Doc. Inedits xiv., p. 117, Rel. de la Miss. du Micissipi, pp. 19. 32, 51; Relation 1696 &c., p. 51.

1693. bec.[1] He had escaped from prison, after learning that he was condemned to the stake, and he reported that the English had built a fort with eight bastions, in the chief town at Onondaga; that this fort had three rows of palisades around it, and that it was the intention of the Indians, that all who were not able to bear arms in their canton, should take refuge within these palisades, under the cannon of the fort, in case the French should be tempted to repeat there, their operations in the Mohawk canton. He added that eight hundred Iroquois were on the point of taking the field to prevent our farmers from getting in their crops; that Tareha, who had already announced this, might have spoken sincerely enough on all other points; but that the Iroquois nation in general, had assuredly never been less inclined to make peace than they were at that time, although several Oneida families seemed really very weary of the war.

Eight hundred Iroquois approach Montreal.

At the very time that St. Michel was making this report, the eight hundred Iroquois were already at the Cascades, at the extremity of Lake St. Louis. The Governor-General, on the intelligence which he received on the 21st of July, dispatched the Chevalier de Vaudreuil in haste with five companies of the King's troops, and one hundred and fifty recruits who had just arrived from France. On his part, the Chevalier de Callières had assembled a force of seven or eight hundred men, and marched in person at their head as far as the Cascades, but neither he nor de Vaudreuil found the enemy any longer there; reports brought in, in quick succession, having induced them to decamp.[2]

The chiefs of this party were first informed of the arrival of three ships from France with troops; next they

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[1] He was captured with Ensigns la Fresniere and Hertel, and taken to Onondaga. Ante p. 219. He was made a reduced lieutenant in 1694. Daniel, ii., p. 283.

[2] Among those taken at this time was Crevier, Seigneur of St. François, who was tortured, but saved from the stake by Schuyler. He reported the French fleet as of twelve ships, bringing 500 recruits, ammunition, cannon, and provisions. Fletcher to Phipps, 31 Aug. 1693 N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 67.

learned that the Governor of Montreal was making great preparations to come and attack them, and they already knew, or soon learned, that the English no longer thought of besieging Quebec. Hence, they were afraid of having to encounter the whole power of the French, and saw that if they did not wish their retreat cut off, they must not defer it an instant. In fact at Quebec, they no longer felt any dread of the English, and the eight hundred Iroquois were not then enough to alarm the colony. 1693.

They return without doing anything.

The intelligence received of the powerful armament preparing at Boston, was, nevertheless, very well founded; but the rumor that these preparations were intended for New France, had been spread by the English only to hold that colony in check, deprive the Count de Frontenac of any idea of attempting to disturb them at home, and conceal more effectually their real design.[1] The three ships which had just arrived at Quebec, had, on their way, fallen in with a small vessel dispatched to France by the Count de Blenac, Governor-General of the French West Indies, which informed them that Martinique had been attacked by fifty vessels, some from Old, and some from New England.[2] Nor did the three thousand men who were to make an irruption in the direction of Montreal, make their appearance. Thus, the harvest was gathered with great tranquillity, the crop was abundant, and the famine, which had begun to be felt keenly, ceased at once.

What became of the fleet that menaced Canada.

To complete their happiness, the fourth of August beheld the arrival at Montreal of two hundred canoes loaded with peltries, under the direction of the Sieur d'Argenteuil. This great convoy brought eighty thousand francs worth of beaver, and the principal chiefs of the Nations of

Arrival of a great convoy of furs at Montreal.

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[1] Relation, &c., 1692-3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix. pp. 560-8; De la Potherie, ii., pp. 179-184.

[2] This fleet, under Sir Francis Wheeler, was to reduce Martinique during the winter, and then, reinforced by New England, conquer Acadia and Canada. Blaythwait to Mather, Feb. 20, 1693, in Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., ii., p. 70, n. See N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 36, 55. As to its fate, see post p. 244.

1693. the North and West, came in person. As soon as de Frontenac heard of it, he proceeded to Montreal, where he arrived escorted by these very chiefs, who had gone to Three Rivers to meet him. The next day, he held a great Council, at which all passed to the general satisfaction. The Huron orator spoke at length, making a long recital of all the expeditions sent out by his nation against the Iroquois. The others merely said that they had come to hear their Father's voice, to receive his orders, and beg him to give them the goods they needed at a moderate price.[1]

De Frontenac prevents the Miamis from trading with the English.

No one came to represent the Miamis. and the Governor-General was even informed, that they had received presents from the English, through the Mohegans, (Mahingans,) and that they had permitted them to come and trade in St. Joseph's River. It was dangerous in its consequences to suffer this door to be opened to English trade. Accordingly, the Count de Frontenac adopted all the measures that his extended experience could suggest in order to baffle this negotiation.

Nor did he spare any effort to rivet this attachment of the various nations, whose deputies were at Montreal. This was his great talent. All the Indians set out, charmed with his manners, and loaded with presents. He had them closely followed by a considerable number of French under the Chevalier de Tonti, still commandant in the Illinois, and whom private affairs had compelled to come down to Quebec. De Courtemanche[2] and de Mantet also went, as did Nicholas Perrot, whom the General instructed to prevent the Miamis, either by persuasion or force, from trading with the English; d'Argenteuil, who was appointed de Louvigny's lieutenant, and Mr. le Sueur, who was sent to form an establishment at Chagouamigon, and renew the alliance with the Chippeways and Sioux.[3]

These arrangements made, Frontenac was preparing to

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[1] Relation, 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. p. 566–569. De la Potherie, iii., p. 179–186.

[2] Ante, p. 192. Daniel, Nos Gloires, i., p. 162.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. p. 569.

leave Montreal, when an express from the Sieur Provôt, King's lieutenant at Quebec, brought him intelligence from Hudson's Bay, and Acadia, announcing that Fort St. Anne at the head of Hudson's Bay, had been taken by the English, early in July. Three ships of that nation had wintered seventy leagues from that fort, which they approached as soon as navigation opened.[1] 1693.

The English take Fort St. Anne, in Hudson's Bay.

They reckoned on finding a weak garrison, but could never have imagined that it contained only four men, one of them in irons. This wretch, in a paroxysm of frenzy, had killed the surgeon of the fort: recovering his sanity, and much troubled at what he had done, he feared that the Jesuit, Father Dalmas, who had been the sole witness, would disclose it, and fear of being punished for an involuntary crime, led him to commit one which rendered him guilty indeed. He killed the missionary, and would have carried his fury further, had they not secured him by putting him in chains.[2]

Gallant retreat of three Frenchmen

The English landed forty men to attack the fort. The three Frenchmen at first killed two, and drove the rest off, but the latter, learning from some Indians the condition of the place, and the number of those defending it, were ashamed to have recoiled before three men; still they did them the honor of sending a hundred against them. Our brave fellows saw how useless their efforts would be against so large a force; but they would not surrender. They left their prisoner in the fort with forty or fifty thousands of peltries, embarked unperceived, in a canoe, and were so fortunate as to reach Quebec, where they found de Frontenac deeply chagrined that the tardiness of the vessels from France, had again entailed the failure of the projected expedition against Fort Nelson.[3]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 570.

[2] Guilloré. Ib. p. 554.

[3] Father Anthony Dalmas came from France in 1670. Sent to Montagnais in 1692. Penetrated to Hudson's Bay by Saguenay. Killed March 3, 1693.

[4] Marest, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. x., (1712,) Travels of Learned Missionaries, (1714,) p. 256. De la Potherie, iii., p. 187; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 554, 567, 570.

[5] Marest says that of five who set out, three died on the way.

1693.

The English compelled to retire in disorder from before Martinique

The news from Acadia was more consoling. It notified the general, that fifteen men of war of the fleet that had attacked Martinique, had arrived at Boston; that they seemed in very bad trim; having suffered terribly from the plague, and that they were subjected to quarantine; that the English had, according to the rumors, lost six thousand men in this unlucky expedition, besides a great number of deserters, and that two of their largest ships had been sunk by the guns of Count de Blenac who acquired great glory indeed, on this occasion.[1]

The Chevalier de Villebon, who sent this information to the Count de Frontenac, added, that General Phibs had said that if his fleet had not come back so shattered, he would yet have had time to take Quebec; and that after the crews were rested a little, he would send several vessels to cruise off the mouth of the Saint Lawrence; the two Frenchmen who escaped from Boston prisons, had assured him that the same general was preparing to come and attack him in his fort of St. John's river, at the head of eight hundred men; but that he did not fear him. It was, however, fortunate that this news proved false, or that Phibs had changed his mind, for he was in no position to make a defence.[2]

Towards the end of September, Tareha returned to Quebec, agreeably to the promise he had given, and he brought an Oneida woman, impelled to make the journey, from the mere desire of beholding the Count de Frontenac, of whom she had heard such great things. It was not quite the Queen of Sheba, but the Iroquois woman was animat-

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[1] Relation, &c., 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 571. The expedition was commanded by Sir Francis Wheeler; he landed 3000 men, who were repulsed by Capt. Collet and Count de Blenac, and after losing five or six killed, and 300 prisoners, with arms, amunition, and baggage, shamefully retreated, and re-embarked. Jefferys' French Dominions, II., p. 143. De la Potherie, iii., p. 188, makes their loss 300 men, and two ships. Wheeler reached Boston, June 11, O. S., having buried 1300 out of 2100 sailors, and 1800 out of 2400 soldiers. The distemper spread in Boston. Hutchinson, Hist Mass., ii., p. 71.

[2] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 188. Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 571.

ed by the same motive as that princess; and the French general was so flattered, that he seemed to regard this woman as something more than an Indian squaw. She had indeed rendered great services to the French prisoners in her canton, and it was to her that Father Milet owed his life. Thus the Count de Frontenac had more than one reason for giving her a cordial welcome. She merited even something more, and God gave her charity, the same reward that Cornelius the centurion obtained of old. Like him, he enlightened her with the light of the Gospel. She was baptized under the name of Susanna,[2] and I saw her in 1708, at Sault St. Louis, where she died in a happy old age, after long edifying that town by the constant practice of all Christian virtues. 1693.

Tareha's proposition

It was doubtless on her account, also, that the Count de Frontenac received Tareha quite well, although he was extremely shocked at the propositions submitted by that Indian. After rather lame excuses for his canton's not sending deputies to the general, to treat of peace, throwing the blame on the English, who had, he said, prevented the Oneidas from following the wishes of their hearts, he had the hardihood to ask the Count de Frontenac to send an ambassador of his own to Albany, (Orange,) where these same English absolutely insisted on this great affair being negotiated.

Frontenac's reply.

The indignation excited in the Governor's heart at such conduct may be conceived; he beheld himself mocked by a nation, by whom he always flattered himself he was esteemed and feared. Yet he did not display it completely; he even seemed convinced that Tareha privately thought much better than he spoke in the name of those who delegated him; he gave him presents, and dismissed him, saying that he would take in good part, the excuses of the Oneidas; but that he would not delay in making the can-

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 19.

[2] Milet's narrative does not indicate precisely this woman. Those who protected him, he speaks of, as already Christians, and among them he names especially, Susanna Gouentagrandi, an Agoyander in the tribe, Relation, pp. 30, 31.

1693. tons repent their not profiting by the favorable disposition towards them, when he arrived from France, as well as their adding insolence to perfidy.

Why he delayed to push the Iroquois.

Yet Tareha understood that this threat was only conditional, nor was it so much the general's conduct to him, that induced him to think so, as some mitigated expressions which he had intermingled with his threats. Yet there was some ground for believing that these menaces would not be without result, because the Illinois and Miamis, encouraged by the Chevalier de Tonti, and the Sieur de la Foret, were then making fierce war on the Iroquois, and had already within two or three years killed more than four hundred of their men.[1]

Zeal and services of three Indians.

But what principally induced the Governor-General not to break off all negotiations with these Indians, is that he maintained secret correspondents among them, by whom it would be very easy to see what would be the result, before taking a final step. His faithful Oureouharé, who had recently retired among the Christian Iroquois of the Mountain, made frequent excursions to his canton, and omitted nothing, that he deemed most advisable to incline them to the French interest. Moreover, Garakonthié was still alive, and although a fervent Christian, he had remained at Onondaga, where his presence was deemed necessary to seize the opportunities which might offer of restoring a good understanding between us and his countrymen. This venerable old man, deprived of all spiritual succour amid that Babylon, never allowed his piety or zeal to relax, and by the care which he took to maintain his credit, like another Daniel, he more than once found means to thwart the intrigues of the English, who, but for this, would have frequently reduced us to mortifying extremities.

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[1] Relation, &c., 1692–3. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 572. De la Potherie, de l'Amerique Sept., iii., p. 190–1. On the return of Tareha, Dirck Wessels was sent to Onondaga. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 59. Fletcher with Schuyler convened the Sachems of the Iroquois at Albany, 2 Feb. 1694 See Propositions at length. Ib p 85.

I have been unable to ascertain whether Teganissorens was then a Christian, for it is certain that he became one, and died at Sault St. Louis. At the time now spoken of, he was still at Onondaga, where he perfectly seconded the good designs of Garakonthié, and it may be affirmed, that New France was in part indebted to the services of these three Indians, for not having its fields and dwellings continually overrun by hostile parties. 1693.

With this exception, the cantons continued to follow for some years, the plan of conduct from which they had not swerved since the beginning of the war, and which consisted in negotiating from time to time, without ever coming to a conclusion, and in incessantly harassing us; but in stopping when they were in a position to do us most injury. The English, on their side, never ceased telling them that they would sooner or later destroy the French colony, and it was mainly to keep up this idea in their minds, that the English every year spread the rumor of a great expedition to besiege Quebec.[1] Conduct of the English and Iroquois toward us.

If they perceived that any of those sincerely attached to us in the cantons, were active in urging the nation to make peace, they left nothing undone to fill the rest of the canton with distrust of these chiefs, or else offered their mediation, which they knew we would not accept, and thus to induce the masses to believe that we were not acting in good faith. They then induced some chief of repute to raise a war party, which cured the most pacific of all desire of arrangement.

The reason why we would not listen to the idea of receiving them as arbiters, is that they always wished to dictate the terms, and they easily made our refusals pass for a proof that we sought only to deceive. Thus assured of the majority of the leading chiefs, they cared very little for the advances occasionally made by our most zealous partisans to the French general, and they

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[1] English accounts admit that the Indians wavered and were weary of the war. N. Y. Colonial Doc., iv., p. 58.

1693. even derived this advantage, that on the failure of these advances, those who made them sometimes fell under our suspicions. They had, in fine, found the secret of inspiring the entire nation with the desire of drawing the whole fur trade to them, by showing the cantons the great profit that would redound to themselves. Hence arose all the intrigues of them both, to seduce our allies, some of whom always let themselves be gained, or surprised.

I have nevertheless observed, and this must not be lost sight of, to understand the whole thread of the Iroquois manœuvres, so apparently variant with each other, that these Indians would not calmly have beheld the English sole masters of all Canada. They were not ignorant how much they should have to fear at the hands of the English, had the latter no rivals, and at bottom they aspired only to hold the scale evenly balanced between the two nations, whose mutual jealousy made the Iroquois sought by both and ensured their safety.

The English themselves were very fortunate to have such a barrier to present to us; for they could not ensure the tranquillity of their colonies, powerful as they were, except by keeping us employed on that side, while the Indians in the neighborhood of Acadia, closely allied to us by the bond of religion, incessantly disturbed the repose of New England, and the domestic dissensions of New York exposed that province to the danger of passing under the French domination.

This policy of two nations, too proud to esteem each other, and too restless to remain on a good understanding longer than their interest demanded, had ceased to be a mystery for those who had any share in the affairs of New France. Frontenac knew this better than any other, and if on the one side, it obliged him to be ever on his guard, it reassured him on the other, and induced him to listen to the Iroquois, whenever they sent him deputies, with whom he could treat, without exposing the dignity of his character. Moreover, by this means, he always recovered some

prisoners, and generally gained a few months' peace, of which he availed himself to give the colonists time to breathe, sow their lands, and reap their harvests. Finally the Iroquois deputies rarely left him without conceiving esteem, and even feeling attached to him personally. 1693. How Frontenac profited by it.

Thus, at the commencement of the year 1694, two Onondagas,[1] having come to Montreal to ask de Callières whether the Deputies of the Five Nations who were, they added, already on the way, would be well received if they came to ask their father Ononthio to grant them peace, that governor, informed of his general's intentions, replied, that they would be heard, when they came, but that he doubted whether they would come. They retired with this reply, and then nearly two months elapsed without anything more being heard of it. De Callières was not at all surprised, yet not to be wanting in anything that depended on him, he deemed it proper to send out some parties in the direction of New York, in order to see whether by means of prisoners that they might take from the Iroquois, he could not discover the real object of their sending the first deputies, or the delay of the second.[2] 1694. The Iroquois again make show of making peace.

On the 23rd of March, two Mohawks came to Montreal, bringing the excuses of Teganissorens, who should have been the head of the deputation. They said, that if the cantons had failed to keep their word, it must be ascribed to the English.[3] They were ill received, the more especially, as Indians from Acadia had warned de Frontenac to The French warned to distrust them.

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[1] Torskim, nephew of Grande Gueule, and a son of Garioye, an Iroquois of Sault St. Louis. De la Potherie, iii., p. 198–9.

[2] La Motte Cadillac. Relation, &c., 1694. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p, 578.

[3] They brought three belts, with an explanatory document in French, giving them as the decision of a conference of the Five Nations, held in Albany, Feb. 9, 1694. This is given in De la Potherie, iii., p. 200; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix p. 578. Colden's Five Nations, p. 163. They were addressed to the Karigouistes, or Indians of the Sault, who answered them haughtily, complaining of their not sending deputies from all the cantons. Ib.,

1694. beware of the Iroquois, who merely wished to gain time, and throw him off his guard; that it was even their design to stab him and the Chevalier de Callières at a council, where they would be in large numbers; to have numerous parties in the vicinity of Montreal, ready to pounce upon the astonished colony, deprived of its commanders; to carry fire and desolation everywhere, and then introduce the English into the country.

Iroquois deputies at Quebec.

There was doubtless exaggeration in this; but prudence required him to be on his guard, and the Iroquois failure to keep their word, excited reflection. However, in the month of May, Teganissorens arrived at Quebec, with eight deputies. It was the sowing season, and this circumstance made the Governor-General refrain from showing how little importance he ascribed to this embassy. He gave the ambassadors public audience[1] with much pomp, and never did they speak better on both sides. Teganissorens' goodness of heart appeared, not only in the harangue, which he delivered in this assembly, but also in his private interviews with de Frontenac, to whom he presented belts in the name of Garakonthié.

The General treated him very kindly, begged him to assure Garakonthié of his gratitude and esteem, and to these marks of friendship, added very fine presents for both; but convinced that neither of them entered the councils of the nation, in which the English took part, he relied only on their sincere affection, without flattering himself that their influence was great enough to bring the whole nation to a perfect reconciliation. He then prolonged the stay of the deputies as much as was necessary to give the colonists time to sow their fields, and this delay led to another result, no less advantageous to the colony.[2]

Mr. de Louvigny had grounds for fearing a rupture with our allies of the North and West, to whom the Iroquois

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[1] May 23, 1694. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 579.

[2] The proceedings of this conference are given at length, in De la Potherie, iii., pp. 204–220. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 579–583.

were unceasingly insinuating that the French wished to make terms with the cantons without regard to their interests. All that he could effect, was to induce the principal chiefs of these nations to convince themselves of the truth in person; these chiefs started for Quebec, and arrived two days after the departure of the Iroquois deputies. Frontenac, learning from their own lips the object of their visit, sent an express to Teganissorens to beg him to return to Quebec; he came at once, and saw the chiefs of our allies, and the latter, after hearing him, understood that the Iroquois had no other object than to divert them, prevent their parties attacking the common enemy, and embroil them with the French, so as to have an easier task with both of them.[1] 1694. Effect of this deputation.

It was not the Governor-General's fault that he did not derive from Teganissorens' deputation another advantage, which seemed to him no less essential, although all the world were not of his opinion. This was the re-establishment of Fort Catarocouy. It was first proposed by Teganissorens,[2] although perhaps at the General's own suggestion. Frontenac certainly seized the opening with all the ardor of his nature, and did not delay for a moment, the preparations for an enterprise so long desired. He prepared with great diligence a large escort, which was to conduct to that post a garrison, mechanics, munitions, and all necessary for an establishment which he proposed to make the bulwark of the colony. He gave the command to the Chevalier de Crisasy, but as that officer was on the point of embarking, he received orders to disband.[3] M. de Frontenac's ineffectual efforts to restore Catarocouy

This change was caused by de Serigny's arrival at Montreal, where the Governor-General was, bearing a royal commission to raise a considerable force, for an expedition against Fort Nelson. The court still clung to this project and committed it to Serigny himself, and his brother, What defeats it

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[1] Relation, 1692–3. N Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 593 De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Am. Sept., iii., p. 220.

[2] Eighth belt. N. Y. Col. Doc ix., p. 581. De la Potherie, iii., p 209-227.

1694. d'Iberville. There was not a moment to lose, unless they wished the project to fail for the third time, and for this purpose it was necessary to take a part of the men who were to accompany the Chevalier de Crisasy. Frontenac gave Serigny one hundred and twenty Canadians, and some Indians from Sault St. Louis; the rest were dismissed till further orders.[1]

New negotiations with the Iroquois.

Soon after, two Frenchmen who had escaped from Onondaga, where they were prisoners, assured de Frontnac, that he must no longer count on making peace with the Iroquois nation; the General believed them ill informed, and the chiefs of the western and northern tribes having arrived towards the close of August, with a great convoy of furs, brought by de Louvigny,[2] he carefully withheld from them the information which he had just received.

At the end of a fortnight, Oureouharé, who had accompanied Teganissorens on his return, came back with thirteen French prisoners, whom he had delivered, among them the two Hertels, taken two years before at de la Gemeraye's defeat, and who were supposed to be dead; but he brought no deputies, except those of his own canton, Cayuga, and of the Seneca.[3] Only Count de Frontenac's regard for their conductor, made him give them a favorable hearing, and he wished the chiefs of our allies to be present at the audience.

Oureouharé, who spoke, began by presenting a belt, the meaning of which was, that he had burst the bonds of thir-

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 227. Examination of M. Pawling and N. Smith. See N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 116.

[2] De la Porte de Louvigny came from Paris in 1687, and became lieutenant and captain. In 1690, sent to the west with a convoy, and feated the Iroquois. Ante, p. 137. In 1693, he was made midshipman and ensign in the navy, according to Daniel, i., p. 307. He returned from the west, as here stated, in 1694. Major of Three Rivers in 1700; of Quebec in 1703. Knight of St. Louis in 1708; King's lieutenant at Quebec, in 1716. Commandant in the Upper Country, 1716–1720. Conducts expedition against the Foxes, 1716. Governor of Three Rivers, 1724; lost on Chameau, Aug. 27, 1725. Daniel, i., p. 306. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 938.

[3] De la Potherie, iii., p. 227. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 115–116, mentions eight as exchanged.

teen Frenchmen; he then presented others, to show that the cantons, whose deputies appeared, perceiving that Teganissorens' negotiation was too long protracted, and knowing that it was traversed by the English, had taken the initiative, and directed their envoys to beg their Father not to lose patience, but to assure him that they wished at any price to regain his favor, and they conjured him to hold back his hatchet yet a little longer. 1694.

Frontenac's final answer.

The General asked them whether they did not intend to include all the nations in the treaty proposed, and this question embarrassed them. They conferred for some time together, and then replied in a very ambiguous manner. Father Bruyas, Superior of the Missions, who acted as interpreter, begged them to be more explicit, but their trouble increased. Then the Count de Frontenac told them that he accepted the first belts, and that he with pleasure beheld his children whom he had mourned as dead; that he thanked the deputies of the two cantons for their eager protestation of fidelity to him; but he did not receive the other belts, by which they proposed to stay his arm, and that he was about to strike at once, unless they promptly gave him a precise reply to all that he had declared to Teganissorens.

He dismisses the deputies satisfactorily.

He then treated them magnificently, and during the banquet, resuming that nobly affable manner that always became him, he sought to convince the Senecas and Cayugas that he desired peace less for his own sake than for theirs, and as a father, who reluctantly punishes his children. Some time after, he gathered all the Indians, and evinced much displeasure at Teganissorens' failure to return at the appointed time, and still more at their consulting the English, who, looking only to their own interest, could not but dissuade from peace. He added that he should not long be the dupe of the irresolution and inconstancy of the cantons; that he and his allies were about to resume the war in earnest, and carry it on more vigorously than ever.

The deputies, who had not expected this threat, wished

1694. to excite his distrust of his allies, but he took up their defence, and protested that he would never separate his interests from theirs. Yet he listened quite calmly to some reproaches that the Hurons and Iroquois addressed each other, wishing, doubtless, to see whether he could not thus derive some light as to the conduct of the former, whom he had never trusted more than moderately; but after quite a warm altercation, from which he learned nothing but what he already knew, he imposed silence on both parties. He then told the Iroquois that he would make his preparations slowly, in order to give them time to return to their duty; but that if they continued to abuse his patience, he would make them feel that, as on the one hand he was a good father and a faithful ally, so on the other they would find him a terrible enemy, if they utterly exhausted his patience. He spoke in the same tone to the other Indians in private, and dismissed them all with presents, and full of esteem for him in person.

Return of F. Milet and Tareha

Towards the end of October, Father Milet[1] arrived at Montreal after five years slavery, a good part of which he had spent in constant expectation of the tortures inflicted on prisoners of war, and he informed the Governor-General that he was closely followed by Tareha with deputies from the Oneida canton. In fact they landed a few days after, but were very ill received, and almost treated as spies. Nevertheless Frontenac relaxed a little on the testimony of the missionary to whom Tareha had really rendered great services during his captivity, and although he began to credit the statement of the Abénaquis, that all these negotiations were intended only to amuse him, he reflected that they had not been useless to him, in so far as they had afforded some repose to the inhabitants of the colony.

It was, moreover, a matter of necessity either to make a show of meeting these advances or to go and attack the Iroquois with forces capable of destroying them, and he

[1] As to Milet's captivity, see Relation d'une captivité parmi les Onneiouts, New York, 1864. Letters in N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 49, 79, 93 &c., Mather's Magnalia, Book, ii., p 61.

was far from having enough for such an expedition. The English, as already noticed, had erected a fort at Onondaga, and that place was in very good condition. The Iroquois could at need put in the field three thousand men, and the Governor of New York would be sure not to let them perish for want of his aid. 1694.

The General's motives in treating with the Iroquois.

Frontenac could count on two thousand men at most, including regulars, militia, and domiciliated Indians; prudence not permitting him to leave ungarrisoned the more exposed posts, which were quite numerous. Thus, considering all things, he had done much by diverting the great war parties, which would at the least have ravaged the fields, a disaster that would entail a general famine. Now the cessation of hostilities on a great scale, was the result of the negotiations just mentioned, and the small parties that appeared on one side or another during that time, had only forced us to be ever on our guard.

Some Abenaquis treat with the English.

The English of Boston were far from enjoying as great tranquillity at the hands of the Abénaqui nations. Sir (William) Phibs had based great hopes on Fort Pemkuit, situated in the midst of these Indians, and at first, by intimidation, brought some to a kind of terms. This was less surprising as these Indians often beheld themselves abandoned by the French, who counted a little too much on their attachment, and the influence of those who had gained their confidence; moreover, some of their relatives were prisoners at Boston, and there was nothing that they would stop at, to get them out of the hands of the English.[1]

Things had even gone so far, that two of their chiefs[2] had bound themselves in the month of May, to conclude a treaty of peace with the Governor of New England, and that General, after receiving hostages, had proceeded in person to Pemkuit,[3] to hasten the conclusion of an affair

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 227.

[2] Edzirmet, (Egeremet of Machias) and Metawando, (Madockowando,) Ib., p. 227.

[3] See in Mather's Magnalia, i., pp. 512–3, a treaty signed at Pemaquid, Aug. 11, O. S., by the above chiefs, and four others.

1694. which he justly regarded as a master stroke. He would apparently have succeeded, but for the exertions of the Sieur de Villieu, who had so greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Quebec, and then commanded a company in these parts.

The Sieur de Villieu breaks off the negotiation.

At the very moment when Phibs felt most assured of at last freeing his colony from all anxiety as to such dangerous neighbors, Villieu, seconded by Mr. Thury, missionary at Pentagoet, found means to regain Mataouando, a Malecite chief, who had already declared for peace. Raising a party of two hundred and fifty Indians from the neighborhood of Pentagoet and St. John's river, and being joined by the Abénaquis of the elder Father Bigot's mission, Villieu put himself at the head of all these braves, having with him only a single Frenchman, and led them to the river Pescadoué, (Piscataway) in the midst of English settlements, and only twelve leagues from Boston.[1]

Bold and successful expedition of that officer.

Here there were two forts,[2] a short distance from each other; the Abénaquis undertook to attack one, Villieu, with the Malecites and Micmacs, marched against the other, and they were soon carried. Two hundred and thirty English perished, fifty or sixty houses were burned, a success that did not cost the victors a single man, only one being wounded.[3] Mataouando always fought beside the French commandant, and greatly distinguished himself.

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 228. Relation du Voyage fait par le Sieur de Villieu. . . à la tete des. . . Kanibats et Malécizites. Canada Doc., II., vii., p. 2. Bigot was at Panaoumkik. He left Naxoat, May 25, with his Indians and two Frenchmen. He was at Pentagoet June 3. Williamson, Hist. Maine, i., p. 639, gives the substance of Bigot's and Thury's sermons, either from actually hearing them or from his own imagination.

[2] Fortified houses, De la Potherie iii., p. 229. Villieu, Canada Doc., II., vii., p. 12, who saw them July 26, calls them "little forts."

[3] Villieu, Relation, Canada Doc. II., vii., p. 12, claims to have burned 60 houses, killed 104 men, and taken 27. De la Potherie, iii., p. 229, iv., p. 40, gives 140 killed. The place was Oyster River, now Durham, N. H. Hayward's Gazetteer of New Hampshire, p. 64. John Pike, in his Journal, (N. H. Hist. Coll., iii., p. 5,) says three garrisons taken, 13 houses burnt, 94 persons killed or taken. According to Cotton Mather, Magnalia, B'k. vii., art. 20, five of the twelve garrisoned houses were taken. Belknap, History of New Hampshire (Farmer's Ed.) i., p. 138, estimates loss at 90 or 100 killed, and 20

The Abénaqui chief was Taxous, already celebrated for many exploits, and commendable attachment to our interests. This brave man, not satisfied with what he had just so valiantly achieved, chose forty of his most active men, and after three days' march, by making a long circuit, arrived at the foot of a fort near Boston, and attacked it in broad day. The English made a better defence than they did at Pescadoué. Taxous had two of his nephews killed by his side, and himself received more than a dozen musket balls in his clothes, but he at last carried the place, and then continued his ravages to the very doors of the capital.[1]

1694.

Exploit of an Abenaqui.

These hostilities provoked Phibs all the more, in as much as on the assurances which he had given of a speedy arrangement with the Indians, all the country was in perfect security, and after these sudden and unexpected hostilities, the people of Boston rose up against him.[2] He had no great authority in his government, and as much to escape the fury of a mutinous populace, which despised him, as to seek means to avenge the affront which he had just received from the Indians, he resolved to proceed to Pemkuit.

Uprising at Boston.

As soon as he arrived there, he sent to tell those with whom he had treated, that they must surrender to him two of their men who had been at the attack of the first

houses burned, July 18. O. S. 1694. See too Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. ii., p. 79. Williamson's Maine, i., p. 640. Stoughton's Letter to the Indians. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 613–4.

[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 229. Taxus, (misprinted Tanons,) is said, p. 246, to have killed or taken 42. Villieu, Relation, p. 13, says the chief had 50 men. The place attacked was Groton, Massachusetts, July 27, O. S. Mather, Magnalia, lib. vii., p. 86, says they were first repulsed at Lieut. Lakin's house, but renewing the attack, killed twenty people, and took a dozen. Butler's History of Groton p. 93, cites no authority but Mather. The General Court, however, relieved the town from taxes on account of "their great distress and impoverishment by reason of the desolation made upon them by the enemy." Ib., p. 95.

[2] Phibs' troubles had a different cause. See Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., i., pp. 76–83. He was recalled to England, and sailed Nov. 17, O. S. Charlevoix here confuses matters, and makes the treaty follow, when it really preceded the hostilities.

1694. fort, that otherwise he would regard them all as accomplices in an act of hostility committed against the law of nations, and after an engagement to commit none, adding that he was at Pemkuit in a position to punish this perfidy. These threats perplexed the Indians not a little ; they had given hostages to the English General, their kindred were prisoners at Boston, and these circumstances were more than sufficient to induce them to agree to anything to appease Sir (William) Phibs, who, on his side, would have made a golden bridge to regain them, trusting to betray them in future.

What passed between Phibs and the Indian allies of the French.

They hesitate. Moreover, succor had long been promised from France, but came not; nor could be speedily hoped for; the French ships that had arrived on the Acadian coast, after advancing as far as St. John's river, having sailed off with a precipitation that admitted a great superiority on the part of the English. All this caused the Indians serious reflection, and they hesitated long as to the course to be adopted. At last the majority decided to send and apologize to the English Governor for the past, and assure him that he should in future have no reason to complain of them.

One of their missionaries prevents their treating with the English. This step would have been certain ruin to themselves and us. Nothing was better calculated to expose their weakness and ours to the English, who would undoubtedly have availed themselves of it, to involve these tribes so that they could never recoil. But Mr. de Thuri, seasonably warned of what was designed, succeeded in assuring the more timid and showing them all, the gulf into which they were plunging, by thus throwing themselves into the arms of a nation whose bad faith they had so often experienced, and whom they had injured too deeply ever to expect to be well treated by them, and who really feared them enough to make it their policy to exterminate them entirely, so soon as they should see them no longer sustained by the French.

He then advised them to employ the time given them for a decision, in gathering the little grain they had planted, and after that to retire to parts where they could be

sure that the English would not pursue them. Mr. de Villieu at the same time induced the chiefs to accompany him to Quebec, where they presented to de Frontenac, the scalps of the English killed at Pescadoué; Father Bigot's Abénaquis, who had taken no part in the negotiations between the Malecites and the Governor of New England, followed de Villieu closely, and all renewed their protestations of inviolable fidelity to the French general.[1] 1694.

Description of Port Nelson.

While the English were thus severely handled in New England, by a handful of Indians, they received in Hudson's Bay a check, which they felt still more keenly. On the 24th of September, d'Iberville and de Serigny arrived at the mouth of St. Teresa river[2] after running great risk from the ice with which they found the whole bay covered. They landed the same day, and the next night forty Canadians invested by land the fort, whose capture was the object of this expedition.[3] I have elsewhere remarked that what is properly called Port Nelson, is a kind of bay, which receives the waters of the St. Teresa and Bourbon rivers, and that the fort to which the English gave the same name, stands on the bank of the former river, half a league from its mouth.[4]

On the 27th after, the Poli, commanded by de Serigny, had transferred to the Salamandre, d'Iberville's ship, all needed for the siege, the two brothers endeavored to approach the fort, but the ice detained them a whole month,[5] and nearly crushed the Salamandre. At last on, the 28th of October,[6] this ship anchored a mile above the fort, and

[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amerique Sept., p. 258, 229, 243.

[2] They sailed from Quebec, August 10. Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson. Voyages du Nord, iii., p. 325. He calls the vessels Poli and Charante. Father Marest, Lettres Edifiantes, vol. x. Travels of Missionaries, &c., p. 259, and De la Potherie, i., p. 166, call the latter the Salamandre. Marest wrote long after, and is apparently in error here, though, on the expedition. This expedition had been solicited by the Northern Company. Canada Doc., II., vi. p. 243, 245.

[3] Jérémie, Relation, de la Baye de Hudson. p. 325. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique, Sept., i., p. 166.

[4] Ante, vol. iii., p. 237

[5] This seems to be an error, compare Jérémie, i., p. 326.

[6] This should apparently be September. Jérémie, p. 326.

1694. d'Iberville encamped his whole force on shore. This fort was a square house, to which four bastions had been added, the whole being of wood.

On a line with the palisade were two other bastions, one serving as officers' quarters; between the two was a kind of half moon, where there was a battery of eight eight-pounders commanding the river, and below it a platform, level with the ground, with six heavy guns. On the side of the woods, which was a copse in a swamp, there was no defence. The main body of the place was fortified by a double palisade, and had thirty-six cannon, and six pedereros.[1] The garrison consisted of fifty-three men, commanded by a good trader, who had never smelt powder, and of course made a poor defence.[2]

Besieged by d'Iberville and de Serigny.

The siege began, however, in a very sad manner for the two commandants. Their brother Chateaugué, still young and serving as ensign on the Poli, having advanced on the 4th of November to prevent the besiegers from making a sortie, was killed by a musket ball. He was the third of his family, killed fighting for his prince.[3] From that day to the 9th, they were engaged making quarters for themselves. On the 9th, they began to work at the batteries, and place the mortars, which were ready at noon on the 13th; but before using them, d'Iberville sent to summon the Governor to surrender.

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[1] This description corresponds with that in Jérémie's Relation de la Baye de Hudson, p. 325–6, except that the latter says 32 cannon and 14 swivels.

[2] Fr. Gabriel Marest, Letter to F. de Lamberville, (Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. x.) Travels of Learned Missioners, p. 269.

[3] The other two were de Sainte Helene and de Bienville. The name of Chateauguay was given to the youngest of the brothers, now Governor of Cayenne. *Charlevoix.* The Seigneury of Chateauguay, is on the St. Lawrence, adjoining that of Sault St. Louis, and crossed by the Chateauguay and St. Regis rivers. It was granted to Le Moyne, Sieur de Longueuil, Sept. 29, 1673. Bouchette, Topogr. Desc. 122, ix., Louis le Moyne, Sieur de Chateauguay, the 10th son of the Sieur de Longueuil, was born at Montreal, Jan. 4, 1676. He was killed, not Nov. 4, as generally stated, but Oct. 4. See Father Marest's letter, in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vol. x. Travels of Learned Missioners, p. 269. Daniel, Nos Glories Nationales, i, p. 53. Une Page de Notre Histoire, p 236.

1694.

The governor capitulates.

That officer, seeing himself on the point of being bombarded, destitute of fire-wood, and with no hope of getting a supply, if the French persisted in wintering in their camp, and especially being inexperienced in war, replied that he consented to surrender the fort, and would send his lieutenant the next day, to arrange the capitulation. He kept his word. The lieutenant asked that all the officers should be lodged in the fort during the winter, that neither they, their property, nor their papers should be touched, and that they should be transported to France as soon as navigation opened, or be at liberty to pass over to England. All this was granted: the capitulation was signed on the 14th, and observed in good faith. The next day d'Iberville took possession of the place and named it Fort Bourbon.[1]

The booty captured was inconsiderable; but a large stock of provisions was found. As the French ships had not been very well supplied, this enabled them to pass more agreeably a winter, which proved very severe, and longer than usual. The English, informed of the French design, had sent two frigates to the bay, which revictualled Forts Nelson and St. Anne, in August, reinforced the garrison, and carried off all the beaver skins on hand. A little diligence would have prevented this, but while Louis XIV. surprised his enemies by celerity in taking the field, the vessels sent to America by his order, always started two or three months too late from our ports. The sequel of this history will show that this tardiness was almost the sole cause of all our losses, and want of success in our enterprises in that part of the New World.

The crown the disappointment, the scurvy broke out

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[1] Jeremie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson, says the siege lasted from Sept. 25, to Oct. 14; and that d'Iberville entered the fort on the 15th. De la Potherie, in his brief account, vol. i., p. 166, is in error, in making this surrender Oct. 12; and Charlevoix evidently errs in giving Nov. for Oct. Marest, Letter to de Lamberville, in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, x. Travels of Missioners, p. 269, says he entered with d'Iberville, St. Teresa's day, Oct. 15, and said mass.

1695. among our men, attacking most of them; Mr. de Tilly, Lieutenant of the Poli, nine other Canadians, and ten sailors died. One hundred and fifty canoes, loaded with Northern furs, which reached Fort Bourbon in June, recompensed those interested for the furs of which the English disappointed them. But the end of July approached without the ice permitting them to sail. It was not till the 28th that they were able to weigh anchor. Only a hundred and fifteen men survived on the two French ships, several of whom were unfit for service. This induced d'Iberville to resolve to await and capture the English ships, then to send the Poli to France, and proceed with the Salamandre to winter at the head of the Bay, in order to capture Fort St. Anne.[1]

Consequences of this conquest.

The English not appearing up to the 7th of September, he changed his plan, and resolved to sail for Quebec with the two ships. He appointed the Sieur de la Foret, Governor of Fort Bourbon, assigning Mr. de Marigni[2] to him as lieutenant. He left them sixty-four Canadians, and six Iroquois of Sault St. Louis,[3] with ammunition and stores for a year.[4] He then steered for Canada, but being long detained by head winds on the Labrador coast, and his crews being daily enfeebled by scurvy, he made for the coast of France, and on the 9th of October arrived at La Rochelle.

The Iroquois continue to amuse the French.

Affairs remained on the same footing in the centre of the colony; the Iroquois continuing to make great promises, and keeping none. It was afterwards ascertained that the greatest obstacles to a perfect reconciliation between the cantons and the French, did not come any longer from

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[1] Father Gabriel Marest to Father de Lamberville, ubi supra, and in Travels of Missioners, p. 269–270, gives most of these facts, but not the deaths.

[2] Captain de Marigni went to St. Domingo in 1716. Daniel, ii., p. 287.

[3] La Plaque commanded these Iroquois, according to De la Potherie, i., p. 166.

[4] Father Marest remained after the ships sailed in September, 1695. He makes the whole garrison in round numbers, 80. Travels of Learned Missioners, p. 277.

New York—the Dutch, who had a powerful party in that province, no longer opposing the peace—but from New England. Yet, come whence they would, there was not a soul in New France but felt convinced of the urgent necessity of carrying out the threat so often made to these perfidious Indians. The king's council had long entertained the same opinion, for thus wrote Mr. de Pontchartrain to Frontenac, April 16th, 1695. 1695.

"I am very glad to inform you in advance, of his Majesty's view in regard to the war, and the negotiation you have kept up with the Iroquois, from the autumn of 1693 to the sailing of the vessels, and to tell you that this negotiation seems to have been conducted[1] by them in concert with the English. Both seem to have had more especially in view to suspend and avert the expeditions that you were to undertake against them, in order to be better able to pursue their hunting and trade, and then be better able to resist your designs, and even carry the war into Canada. You cannot have more positive proofs of their insincerity, than in what you have discovered, that at the very time when they were sending you ambassadors after ambassadors, they were tampering with the upper nations, our allies, to make peace with them, independent of you. You have at least derived from this knavery, the advantage of having exposed them in presence of the deputies of these nations, and in letting the latter know from the Iroquois themselves, that the Iroquois had no idea of including them in the pretended treaty, and you are more certainly assured of their fidelity, and the confidence they should feel, that the king will not abandon them. This being so, every means must be adopted to wage war vigorously on the Iroquois. His Majesty will make an effort to put you in a condition to do so."[2]

The king thinks they should be hard pushed.

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[1] Traité should perhaps be trainé, procrastinated, prolonged.

[2] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, Apr. 16, 1695. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 588 Canada Doc., I. v., p. 228.

1695. People in general, were far from regarding the Governor-General's patience as favorably as the Court did.

They renew hostilities. Most of those who saw things closely, deemed it an error to allow the Iroquois to suppose us dupes of their bad faith, and they were more than confirmed in this opinion, when these Indians, after several intrigues to seduce from us their countrymen of Sault St. Louis, and the Mountain, who had been well nigh gained, seeing all their tricks discovered, began to reappear all around our settlements, and perpetrate their usual cruelties and plundering.

The vigilance and activity of the Governor of Montreal foiled, indeed, most of their measures. One of the chiefs of Sault St. Louis, who had secretly entered into negotiation with them, was expelled from the village; the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, who had succeeded Mr. de Louvigny at Michillimackinac, found means to induce the Indians of his district to attack the common enemy, who were making great exertions to detach them from our side; but all this did not prevent our farmers from being in constant alarm, the Iroquois lying in ambush everywhere, and swooping down to butcher them in sight, and almost under the cannon of their forts.[1]

Insolent propositions of these Indians. These hostilities had been preceded by very insolent propositions from the Cantons, who at the very moment when they ceased to pretend a desire for peace, resumed their former haughty attitude. They began by asking that the Governor-General should send them, in his turn, deputies to treat at their towns, and as a first preliminary they insisted on a total cessation of hostilities on our part, and that of our allies, either against them, or against the English.[2]

Such insolence in an enemy whom it was not deemed impossible to humiliate; the necessity of doing so, if we would avoid losing all the credit we had regained in the

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 604–8. Cadillac, Aug. 3, 1695. De la Potherie, iv., p. 16. La Motte

[2] See N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 500.

minds of the Indians, and the mortification of beholding the very head and centre of the colony become again the theatre of a war, where all was risked without any hope of gain, made those whom past experience alarmed for the future, desire to have all the forces of Canada assembled in order to go and make the cantons repent their not profiting by the inclination we had evinced to grant them a favorable peace; but the Count de Frontenac was not of this opinion. 1695.

Frontenac restores Fort Catarocouy.

He made up his mind positively, that the best remedy for the dreaded evils, was to restore Fort Catarocouy, and he resolved to carry out this design, which he had never lost sight of a moment, since his return from France, whatever obstacles had to be overcome to effect it. No sooner did he avow this resolution, than Mr. de Champigny, and all persons in office, strongly represented to him the dangerous consequences which might result from an enterprise in which he alone saw advantages that no one was convinced of, adding that the regulars, and militia, who would have to be employed at it, would be much better employed in curbing the insolence of the Iroquois. They reminded him that the cantons having more than once asked the restoration of that post, it was not only granting them a favor that they did not deserve, but also receiving from them the law which they seemed disposed to impose on us by force of arms.

Against the general opinion.

These representations did not influence the General. He replied that if he stood alone in his opinion, he would follow it. He at once set out for Montreal, reaching it on the 8th of July, escorted by a hundred and ten Canadians from the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers. He raised also one hundred and fifty militia, from that of Montreal, two hundred soldiers, and as many Indians, with thirty-six officers, which made nearly 700, all picked men, who under the command of the Chevalier de Crisasy, selected by the General for this expedition, would have been enough to bring the Iroquois to their senses. The preparations were

1695. made with incredible expedition, and the army moved as soon as the convoy was ready.[1]

And the King's. The next day Mr. de Frontenac received a letter from Mr. de Pontchartrain, in which that minister informed him that the King did not approve his design;[2] for he, himself, or perhaps some of those who dissuaded him, had written to the court. But he took upon himself to disregard this intimation. "I believed," said Mr. de Champigny, in a letter to de Pontchartrain, dated August 11th, "that he would change his design, as he might easily have done. For this purpose I suggested endless reasons,[3] but all in vain, except in that he sent orders to reduce the garrison twenty men." In another letter on the 17th, he adds, "The expedition to Catarocouy has returned; the fort is restored, forty-eight men have remained there, although Mr. de Frontenac assured me that only thirty were to stay. This expense might have been much more usefully employed in striking an important blow at the Iroquois, who were off their guard, and supposed that they had lulled us by their pretended negotiations. Our allies had lost all thought of making terms with them, as they are now doing, we are informed, seeing that we do nothing against them. The Hurons have already sent three canoes there; the Foxes and Mascoutins are just the men to join the cantons against the Sioux; the former even speak of going to settle in their country. In one word, la Motte Cadillac writes, that we are going to lose them all, unless we remedy it, by forming a grand expedition against the Iroquois, and convincing our allies that we really intend to destroy that nation.

Count de Frontenac thought very differently, both as to the designs which he had just carried out, and as to the expedition in which he had not deemed proper to

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[1] De la Motte Cadillac, Relation, 1694–5. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 609. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iv., p. 29. Canada Doc., II., vii., p. 236.

[2] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, Apl. 16, 1695. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 589.

[3] See his reasons, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 591–4.

engage; and it may be said that setting aside the success of the resolution that he adopted against the opinion of all the enlightened persons in the colony, and which did not entirely meet his expectation, he seemed to reason quite correctly. Equity, from which an historian should never swerve, compels me to adduce his reasons. In the account which he gave the minister of his conduct in the matter, he thus expresses himself: 1695.

"The expedition for Fort Frontenac had started several days before the reception of your letter, and any abandonment of that enterprise, of which the head chiefs of the Ottawas had been eye witnesses, would so have depreciated the French in their minds, by the strong impression they would receive of our weakness, or of our desire to renew negotiations with the enemy, that it would have sufficed to alienate them entirely from us, or at least make them think of contracting peace without our intervention, especially after the joy which they had publicly manifested that by this restoration they might hope to find an assured refuge in any expedition they might undertake against the Iroquois. This operation has been successfully carried out at slight expense, and in a short time. We have not lost a single man, and though I did not propose at present, to do more than repair with palisades the breaches found in the fort, they were able to rebuild them with stone in a week, without its costing the king a sou. . . . .

Some wished me to go this year with all our regulars, provincials, and allies, drums beating, and carry Onondaga. I did not deem it expedient; 1st, because I had not sufficient force to do it; 2ndly, not to leave the country stripped, exposed to the incursions of the English, who might pounce upon Montreal, by way of Chambly; 3rdly, from the uselessness of an enterprise which would result merely in burning cabins; for if the Indians had no time to call in the English, they would infallibly retire to the woods with their families. The example of what occurred

1695. after de Denonville's expedition against the Senecas, justifies sufficiently all I say, and shows us that the destruction of an Iroquois village is not the way to deliver us from their incursions.

The easiest and least expensive means to succeed, is to continue to harass and annoy them so, by constant war parties, that they will not dare to leave their own towns. This the restoration of Fort Frontenac will enable us to do. If his Majesty resolves to attack Fort Pemkuit next year, it will give a new impulse to the boldness of the Indians of those parts. . . . It would even be desirable that he should extend that expedition so as to bombard Boston and Manhattan, which is not, in my opinion, very difficult; this would at a single stroke enable us to put an end to the war in this country."[1]

It would not have been impossible to answer a part, at least, of the Count de Frontenac's allegations in justification of his enterprise; yet it is true that it was not easy to decide whether this design had most drawbacks or advantages; both of which were exaggerated by the different parties; for if there was obstinacy, or, if you will, private interest in the motives, which impelled the Governor-General to act, the zeal of some of his opponents does not seem exempt from pique and prejudice; it was his misfortune that too many people shared the discontent.

However, no one can refuse to the Chevalier de Crisasy the justice of saying that in carrying out the orders he received from his general, he displayed a conduct which won for him commendation even from those most hostile to the expedition committed to him. In a fortnight he advanced one hundred and twenty leagues through almost continual rapids, and rebuilt Fort Catarocouy. Nor did his zeal and vigilance halt here; before returning to Montreal, he sent out as scouts, eighty Indians divided into small squads, and to this precaution, it may be said, as much as

[1] This despatch is not in the N. Y. Col. Doc., or Canada Documents.

to the valor of some of our officers soon to be mentioned, did the colony owe its being happily able to gather in the crops in peace. 1695.

In fact, forty of his scouts having gone towards Onondaga, some of them who had advanced to the river Chouguen,[1] saw thirty-four Iroquois canoes come down, and even heard some of the Indians telling each other that they would soon pay the French and their Sault St. Louis brethren a visit, that they did not expect. The other parties confirmed the statement that a great number of Iroquois were on the war path; all returned with such celerity as to give the Governor of Montreal opportunity to put his posts beyond reach of insult, and enable the Count de Frontenac to collect a force of eight hundred men on Isle Perrot.[2] Timely warning that the Iroquois were on the war-path.

The enemy, nevertheless, advanced to Montreal, and even landed in small squads on that island, where they tomahawked some of the settlers. The Governor-General, on being informed of it, deemed it expedient to divide his little army, and scatter it among the parishes to cover the reapers. This arrangement disconcerted all the plans of the Iroquois, a considerable body of whom were defeated back of Boucherville, by Mr. de la Durantaye.[3] There were some other surprises at the hands of these Indians, but with no great result. Thus ended the campaign in the centre of the colony. Its commencement had been still more disastrous to the Iroquois in the West. The enemy defeated by M. de la Durantaye.

Mr. de la Motte Cadillac had, as we have remarked, at last induced the Indians near his post to make incursions on the common enemy. They met with success and brought in a great many prisoners to Michillimackinac. The Iroquois wished to avenge this on the French, and marched in force to compel the Miamis to declare against them;

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[1] Oswego. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 471, defines it: Swageh, Flowing out.

[2] Relation, &c., 1694–5. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 618–622. The Expedition to Fort Frontenac cost 12000 livres, Ib. p. 633. De la Potherie. iv., pp. 49–56.

[3] Ib., pp., 73–5. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 628.

1695. determined, if they refused, to drive them themselves from St. Joseph's river, where there was a large town of those Indians. Fortunately, Mr. de Courtemanche was in the town with some Canadians, when the Iroquois appeared. He joined the Miamis, and fell so suddenly on those savages, who never dreamed of such a thing, and did not know the French to be there, that, after killing and wounding a considerable number, he obliged the rest to take flight in great disorder.

And by Mr. de Courtemanche.

Treachery of a Huron chief.

This reverse was keenly felt; but they were soon consoled by the perfidy of a Huron chief, styled by our Canadians, the Baron. He was a dangerous man, and the French, whose natural enemy he was, did not sufficiently distrust him. He had prevented the Michillimackinac Hurons from going to war like the rest, and he had for some time been in correspondence with the Iroquois. He nevertheless concealed his intrigue with a dexterity and secrecy, of which no one scarcely but Indians, and especially the Hurons, are capable, and while he went himself with the deputies of our allies to make loud protestations of eternal attachment before the Governor-General, he had sent to the Senecas, his son, with thirty braves totally devoted to him.

They concluded a treaty with that canton, in which they included the Ottawas, and when the whole intrigue was disclosed, the bond was so well knit, that la Motte Cadillac was unable to break it. That commandant succeeded, nevertheless, in suspending the execution of the treaty, at least on the part of the Ottawas, but the Baron, who had thrown off the mask, no longer used any subterfuge, and the French consoled themselves with the thought that an unmasked enemy is less to be feared than a perfidious ally, especially of the character of this man, who moreover was neither avowed nor followed by all his village.

Another thing annoyed the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac

[1] Relation, &c., 1694–5. N. Y. Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iv., p. 15, &c., Col. Doc., ix., p. 603, &c., De la

and induced him to plan the deputation alluded to. The Indians of his district complained at all times, of the dearness of our goods, which were, in fact, excessively high. Certainly nothing has done us greater prejudice in Canada, especially in those critical times, than disregard to conduct that more than once put us in danger of seeing the tribes, whose commerce was most necessary to us, pass from our alliance to that of our enemies. 1695.

Policy of the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac.

The commandant of Michillimackinac, unable of himself to remedy this evil, of which better than any other man, he could foresee the dangerous consequences, endeavored to strike the Governor-General and Intendant on this essential point, and oblige them to arrest it. He suggested to the deputies, whom he sent to Montreal under another pretext, to present a belt to ask a reduction in the price of goods, and insist on the point, as one which they were determined not to give up. They did so, and even went a little further than la Motte Cadillac intended; they appeared before the Count de Frontenac as men who proposed peace or war; and on offering the belt, did not conceal their intention to pursue their own course, if their demand was not granted.

What occurred between the deputies of our allies and Count de Frontenac.

Such a proposition, made with a menacing air, could not be favorably received, and the belt was haughtily rejected. The General reproached the deputies, as their insolence deserved; but as the mover of the plan had foreseen, he knew how to mingle with his marks of resentment, expressions and manners which disclosed more kindness than anger; so that it was easy for the Indians to understand that the prices of the goods would be made satisfactory. But as in their address they had used expressions to convey the idea that, independent of this consideration, they were not over anxious to continue the war, the General evinced great compassion for their blindness, which prevented their seeing their true interest.

He added that for his part he was bent on carrying on the war; that he would have been delighted to see all his children join him to avenge the blood of so many of their

1695. brethren ; but that he really did not need them ; that he could not punish them for their indocility, better than by leaving them free to do as they pleased ; that they should only remember the warning he gave them, that the Iroquois would never have any poicy concerning them, except to destroy them, and that experience should have taught them, that the Iroquois sought to seduce them from his alliance only to be able more easily to effect their design.

Firmness so well seasoned, astonished the deputies, and especially set the Huron chief thinking ; but it did not make him break the silence he had hitherto kept ; he merely said that he had been entrusted with no word from his nation ; that he simply had orders to hear what his father. Ononthio might say, and report to his brethren. The General, however, informed of all his intrigues, told him that dissimulation was useless ; that he knew and did not fear him. Meanwhile the Ottawas and Nipissings, assured de Frontenac that they had no part in anything that man did to displease him, and the latter added that they would not return home ; but that they were resolved to remain by their Father to witness the enterprise he was about to carry out.[1]

A Siou solicits the General's protection.

Some time before,[2] Mr. le Sueur brought to Montreal quite a large convoy from the western end of Lake Superior. While de Frontenac was giving orders to the Indians who had accompanied him, a Siou chief approached him with a very sad air, laid his hands on his knees, and with streaming eyes, begged him to take pity on him ; that all the other nations had their Father, and that he alone was like a forsaken child. He then spread out a beaver skin on which he arranged twenty-two arrows, and taking them one after another, he named for each a village of his nation and asked the general to take them all under his protection. This the Count de Frontenac promised ; but since that time no means have been taken to retain the people in our alliance. Nevertheless considerable

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 631–2. De la Potherie, iv., p. 32. The

[2] This was July 18. Ib., p. 610 : Sioux chief was Tioskatin.

leather and wool might be derived from them, the vast plains which they inhabit being covered with the cattle already more than once described.[1] 1695.

Meanwhile the English, sure of the Iroquois and relieved from all fears as to New York, had once more made it their whole study to seduce from us the tribes in Acadia. Seven Abénaquis having gone to Pemkuit with a flag of truce were arrested: three were taken prisoners to Boston, and the four others were butchered on the way.[2] Phips had recently died in England,[3] and no successor had been appointed. One Stoughton commanded in New England under a simple commission.[4] From him the Abénaquis demanded their counrymen arrested against the law of nations, and the flag which should have proved a safeguard; he replied only by furious reproaches as to their last hostilities, and he added the most terrible threats, if they did not surrender all those concerned in them. Treachery used by the English towards the Abenaquis.

They replied in a similar tone;[5] nevertheless both sides grew calmer; Stoughton not wishing to exasperate

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[1] Le Sueur went up to the Sioux country from Louisiana, in 1699–1700. La Harpe, Journal Historique, p. 38, Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 89; Penicaut, Relation, MSS., ch. ii., § 4, ch. iii., § 1, 2. Le Sueur was a kinsman of d'Iberville, and was at Chegoimegon in 1693. He returned to France in 1702, and died on his way back to Louisiana, La Harpe, p. 21. Father Guignas accompanied another French party to the Sioux country in 1728. Early Voyages, p. 167.

The extended use of wool of the bison was also one of La Salle's projects.

[2] They were killed at Saco. Relation, &c., 1694–5. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 613; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iv., p. 39–40.

[3] He died Feb. 18, 1695. Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts, ii., p. 81. cites a letter of John Pike to the Governor, Pemaquid, Jan. 7, 1694, (?5) narrating the seizure of Bomazeen and others at Pemaquid soon after the affairs at Groton and Oyster river. Hutchinson says he could find nothing as to any killed at Saco.

[4] William Stoughton, son of Col. Israel Stoughton, commander in the Pequot war. He was a graduate of Harvard, and was a clergyman in England. He came to New England in 1662, and became a magistrate, councillor, chief justice, and in 1692 lieutenant-governor, administering as such from 1694 to 1699. He died July 7, 1701.

[5] See this correspondence, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 614; De la Potherie, iv., p. 40–2, Jan. 21, 1695.

1695. utterly men, who could inspire fear, and they, willing on any terms to rescue their kinsmen from the hands of the English, fully resolved, after succeeding in this, to avenge the blood of those butchered. But learning that the English while negotiating were actually taking steps to surprise them, they flew to arms.

They resolve on vengeance.

They were nevertheless still convinced that their enemies were masters at sea, and that the French durst not appear before them. This consideration arrested them ; but the arrival of a royal vessel[1] commanded by de Bonaventure, who made several captures on the neighboring coast, and the presents which that officer handed them in his Majesty's name, disabused them, and made them resolve to do the English all the injury they could. We shall see in the following book how they carried this out.

Towards the close of the year there was every reason to believe that a considerable armament was preparing in England and at Boston, intended for Newfoundland. Placentia was in a wretched position, and de Frontenac conjointly with de Champigny represented to the Minister that the loss of that place would entail great embarrassment in the negotiations for peace which were likely to commence soon.

Frontenac and Champigny propose to attack Boston.

These gentlemen then proposed that in the spring ten or twelve men of war should leave the ports of France to engage the English squadron, which was to go to sea about the same time, and then proceed to capture Boston. They represented that that city carried on an extensive trade, and that once masters of it, we would absolutely control all the fisheries. This was a very fine project, and more easy to be carried out than was supposed in France ; but the King had other views, and men were not as well informed in France as they were in Canada, of the importance of weakening the English power on the continent of North America.

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[1] The Envieux at Pentagouet, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 617, De la Potherie, iv., p. 47. He engaged the Sorlings, Capt. Eams, at the mouth of the St. John's, and handled it so roughly that Eams was glad to escape to Boston. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, p. 87.

1695.

His Majesty's council accordingly limited its projects for the ensuing campaign to expelling the English from the posts occupied by them in Newfoundland, from Fort Pemkuit, by which they kept all Acadia in check; and from all they had left Hudson's Bay. The Pemkuit expedition was, it seems, to be made at the King's expense; and the two others at the expense of the Northern Company. It is certain that his Majesty committed the first to d'Iberville, and de Bonaventure.

Project of a campaign for 1696.

As early as February, orders were sent to Mr. Begon, Intendant of Rochelle, to equip at Rochefort the Envieux and Profond, and the instructions given to the two commandants directed, after reducing Fort Pemkuit, to raze it to the ground, and then proceed to restore the fort at the mouth of the St John's; thence to dispatch de Serigny with the Dragon, commanded by him, to the head of Hudson's Bay, while they proceeded to Newfoundland, there to join several vessels from St. Malo, which would be there awaiting him, and all, in concert with Mr. de Brouillan, Governor of Placentia, attacked the English by land and by sea. We shall see in its proper place the success of these various expeditions.

What the King thought of the Iroquois war.

1696.

In regard to the Iroquois war, the count de Pontchartrain thus wrote to the Governor General and Intendant in the month of May, 1696: "It seems to his Majesty that the Iroquois war, especially in these later times, has had no cause except a jealousy of the commerce with the upper tribes, and with New York; their position giving them a great advantage for both. He also thinks that the alienation of the Ottawas and other tribes of those remote quarters springs from the fact that the French by their ex tended excursions into the interior have usurped the trade, which these tribes had with the others lying further north, and that, in fine, bushloping more unbridled than ever, in spite of prohibitions, is the source of all the troubles of the colony, and has given rise to establishments which, by dividing, scatter it and defeat the views entertained by his Majesty for reuniting and encouraging the colonists in agriculture."

1696. The minister adds that the King, after considering the report of de Frontenac and de Champigny on the unfavorable disposition of our allies and the difficulties of an excessive expense for communication with them on account of the war, had resolved, by the advice of the most experienced persons, to abandon Michillimackinac and the other advanced posts, except Fort de St. Louis in the Illinois, which the King wished maintained, on condition that the Sieurs de la Forêt and Tonti, to whom he reserved the concession, should not bring or cause to be brought any beaver into the colony.[1]

I have been unable to ascertain on whose advice the King's council adopted this resolution. The excursions of the Canadians into new countries certainly ruined the commerce of New France, introduced fearful libertinage, rendered the nation contemptible among all the tribes on the continent, and raised an insurmountable obstacle to the progress of religion. Still the remedies which his Majesty sought to apply, were utterly impracticable in the actual position of the colony, since it is certain that the English would have seized the advanced posts as soon as we evacuated them, and we should thus at once have as enemies all the tribes gathered near the posts by our influence. Now if these tribes once joined the Iroquois and English, one single campaign would suffice to expel the French from New France.

Our allies ill-disposed towards us.

On the other hand, Frontenac was at last convinced of the indispensable necessity of making an effort to subdue the Iroquois. He had especially seen this in the disposition evinced by the Iroquois at the last audience he had given them; but what completely decided him to show himself in the cantons with all his forces, was the intelligence which came in from all quarters, of the bad impression produced everywhere by the inaction of the French, in spite of the hopes with which he had so long cajoled his allies, of a great expedition against the common foe.

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[1] Louis XIV. to Frontenac and Champigny, May 26, 1696. New York Colonial Documents, ix., p. 637.

This resolution adopted, he notified the commandant of Michillimakinac by a Frenchman, whom he sent up with the Ottawa deputies when returning home. This envoy found the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac in great difficulty. Iroquois ambassadors had been received by the Indians of his post, and had obtained from them all they desired. This came of the Baron's intrigues. Not only had they concluded a treaty with the Hurons and Ottawas, but had also induced them to join our enemies to make war on us.

Mr. de la Motte Cadillac induces the Ottawas to make war on the Iroquois.

In vain did la Motte Cadillac exert himself to obtain admission to their conferences; but Onaské, chief of the Kiskakon Ottawas, had informed him of all that had passed. There was nothing to do but to disconcert these intrigues, but this became still more difficult after the return of the deputies who had been at Montreal, and during whose absence all this had been plotted. On arriving, these deputies announced that all the French were dead; this is a common expression with the Indians, to mean that everything is desperate. They declared, in particular, that we durst not appear at sea, that we had neither wine nor brandy, and that they came back in the very shirts they had worn to Montreal, Ononthio not being in a position to give them others.[1]

In this extremity la Motte Cadillac was not disconcerted; the Frenchman who had accompanied the deputies having handed him letters from the Governor General, informing him of the various advantages recently gained by our men over the Iroquois, he made the very most of them, especially of la Durantaye's action near Boucherville. He then declared that in spite of the scarcity of goods, caused by the delay of the vessels from France, which had been prevented by head winds, and not by any fear of the English, from arriving as early as usual, he would give all that was left in his stores, at the same prices that they had always brought, and would even allow them credit.

This offer had a very good effect; Onaské and some

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[1] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col., Doc. ix., p. 644.

1696. other emissaries of the commandant profited by it to open the eyes of the most excited, to the consequences of the step they had just taken, and when the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac saw them waver he assembled them. He told them that however little they reflected on all that had occurred since he had been among them, they would see that it was not he who had deceived them, as they had complained in unmeasured terms; but that they had let evil-minded men, whom they ought to distrust, seduce them.

As he perceived that this reproach touched them, he deemed it useless to make them a longer address, and without giving them time to consult, he proposed to them to send out several parties against the Iroquois, who were actually hunting with the Hurons and some Ottawas. Such is the deplorable condition of those, who have to govern savages without faith or principles of honor, never to rely on their word, and often to see no other means to avoid being victims of their perfidy, than their very facility in betraying their oath, from no motive but their natural fickleness. The Ottawas had just violated the faith they had so often sworn to us, new oaths had bound them to the Iroquois, and they became their enemies again on the spot.

Defeat of the Iroquois. Scarcely had la Motte Cadillac ceased speaking when Onaské, Ouilamek, a Pouteouatami chief and an Algonquin named Mikinac, having declared themselves chiefs of the expedition, they soon gathered a considerable body of warriors. Some Hurons at once hastened to warn the Iroquois, who at first took flight, but our braves were so expeditious that they overtook them. They fought fiercely on the banks of a river; but the Iroquois were at last forced to endeavor to escape by swimming. The victors brought back thirty scalps to Michillimakinac, and led in thirty-two prisoners with a booty of about five hundred beaver skins. Among the prisoners were many Hurons. These were handed over to their nation, who seemed affected by this consideration.[1]

[1] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 646.

1696.

Consequences of this defeat.

After this signal blow there was no fear of any arrangement, at least for the moment, between the Ottawas and the Iroquois or the English, who were the losers by the capture of the booty, they having advanced goods to the Iroquois, who were to give them the proceeds of their hunt. Some time after, d'Argenteuil arrived at Michillimackinac from Montreal, with tidings of Frontenac's great preparations to go and attack the Iroquois in their own country. De la Motte Cadillac invited the Indians to join their Father; but he informed them that he made this invitation on his own responsibility, having received no orders from his general. Onaské first declared that he would go and fight under Ononthio's banner, and for some time the commandant flattered himself that a body of four hundred warriors would go to swell the French army; but various incidents broke up all his measures; and there was every reason to believe that the Hurons had diverted this blow, out of revenge for the injury done them at the defeat of the Iroquois.[1]

[1] Relation, 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 648.

APPENDIX.

DETAILS ON THE LIFE AND DEATH OF SOME INDIAN CHRISTIANS.

I HAVE judged it impossible to close this volume better than by making known to those sincerely interested in the triumph of religion, to what a degree of sanctity, grace can, in the very centre of barbarism, elevate the souls that are faithful to it. Only a few are selected, but they will suffice to disabuse readers who are in good faith, but have allowed themselves to be easily prejudiced against these Indian missions; to confound sinners who have not courage to burst the fetters at which they blush, if they have still any religious principle; and to make the true faithful exalt the mercies of the Lord.

I.

CATHARINE TEGAHKOUITA.

AN IROQUOIS VIRGIN.[1]

New France has had her apostles and martyrs, and has given the church saints in all conditions, and I do not hesitate to say that they would have done honor to the primitive ages of Christianity. Several I have made known so far as the course of this history permitted me. The lives of some have been published; but God, who exalted his glory during their life-time by the great things which he effected through them; by the lustre which their sanctity has diffused over this vast continent; by the courage which he inspired them to found with untold toil

[1] This life is drawn from that by Father Peter Cholenec, (born July 29, 1640; died at Quebec, Oct. 13, 1723,) in the Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xii., (Paris, 1717.) Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 81–116. The source was a more extended biography, "La Vie de la B. Catharine Tegakouita, dicte à présent la Saincte Sauvagesse," still in manuscript, written in 1695, by Father Claude Chauchetière, of the Province of Aquitaine, who came out to the Canada mission in 1677, and died at Quebec Apr. 17, 1709. He also from memory painted her portrait, often since copied, and published in the Lettres Edifiantes, and in La Potherie.

a new Christendom amid the most fearful barbarism, and to cement it with their blood, chose none of these to display on their tombs, all the riches of his power and mercy; but conferred this honor on a young neophyte, almost unknown to the whole country during her life. For more than sixty years she has been regarded as the Protectress of Canada, and it has been impossible to oppose a kind of *cultus* publicly rendered to her.[1]

This holy virgin, so celebrated under the name of Catharine Tegahkouita,[2] was born in 1656 at Gandahouagué, a town in the Mohawk canton,[3] of a heathen Iroquois father and a Christian Algonquin mother. She lost her mother at the age of four, and was still quite young when her father died, leaving her to the care of one of her aunts, and under the control of an uncle who had the chief authority in his village. The small pox which she had in her infancy having weakened her sight, she was long compelled as it were to remain in the corner of a cabin, her eyes being unable to stand the light, and this retirement was the first source of her happiness. What she did at first from necessity, she continued to do from choice, thereby avoiding whatever could cause her to lose that moral purity so difficult to preserve amid idolatrous and then very dissolute youth.

As soon as she saw herself of age to act, she took on herself almost all the toil of the household; and this shielded her from two dangers, fatal to most Indian girls; I mean, private conversations and idleness. Her relatives however wished her to use the decorations common to young persons of her sex, and although she yielded from simple compliance with their wishes, and with all possible repugnance, it was a matter of much scruple to her, when, favored by the light of faith, she learned how dangerous it is to seek to please men.[4]

The first knowledge that she acquired of Christianity, was imparted by some misssionaries sent to the Iroquois after Mr. de Tracy's expedition. On their way they passed through the town where she lived[5] and were

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[1] As to this general veneration of Catharine Tegahkouita, see the MSS. of Remy, Curé of La Chine; Bishop de St Valier, Etat Present, (1688,) pp. 48–9; De la Potherie, (1722) i., p. 357.

[2] The name Tegahkouita means "who puts things in order" (Marcoux,) and is still in use at Caughnawaga.

[3] See ante, vol. ii., p. 146, n.

[4] Chauchetière, Vie, ch. iii., enters into details on her skill in needle-work, and the ornamental work done by Indian women, as well as on her cheerfulness.

[5] These missionaries were Fremin, Bruyas, and Pierron. They reached Caughnawaga in August 1667. Ante. vol. iii., p. 109. Relation, 1668, p. 4–6.

received at her cabin. She was appointed to take care of them, and waited on them in a manner that surprised them. She had herself, on beholding them, been moved by an impulse that excited sentiments in her heart, regarded subsequently by her as the first sparks of the heavenly fire, by which she was in the sequel so completely inflamed. The fervor and recollection of those religious in their devotions, inspired her with the desire of praying with them, and she informed them of it. They understood much more than she expressed; they instructed her in the Christian truth, as far as the short stay which they made in that town permitted them, and left her with a regret that on her side was heartily reciprocated. Some time after, a match was proposed to her; as she showed strong opposition, her relatives did not press it; but they soon returned to the charge, and to save themselves the trouble of overcoming her resistance, they, without mentioning it to her, betrothed her to a young man, who at once went to her cabin and sat down beside her. To ratify the marriage, it only required that she should remain near the husband selected for her, such being the way of these tribes;[1] but she abruptly left the cabin, and protested that she would not return till he withdrew. This conduct drew on her much ill treatment, which she endured with unalterable patience. She was more sensible to the reproach made that she had no affection for her kindred, that she hated her tribe, and gave all her attachment to that to which her mother belonged. Nothing however could overcome her repugnance for the state of life in which they sought to involve her.

Meanwhile Father James de Lamberville arrived at Gandahouhagué,[2] with orders to found a mission there. Tegahkouita then felt her former desires to become a Christian revive: but she was still for some time without mentioning it, either from respect to her uncle, who did not relish our religion, or from pure timidity. At last an opportunity came for avowing her conviction, and she was not wanting. A wound in the foot which she had received, kept her in the cabin, while all the other women were busy harvesting the Indian corn. Father de Lamberville, compelled to suspend his public instructions, which no one would attend, took this time to visit the cabins, and instruct those whom age or infirmity retained there. One day he entered that where Tegahkouita was.[3]

Unable to dissemble the joy which this visit caused her, she did not

[1] Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauvages, i., p. 566. De la Potherie, iii., p. 14.

[2] Father James de Lamberville is first mentioned in connection with this mission in the Etat Present, 1675.

[3] Chauchetiere, vie, ch. 6.

hesitate to open her mind to the missionary in the presence of two or three women, who were in company with her, on her design of embracing Christianity. She added that she would have great obstacles to overcome, but that nothing appalled her. The energy with which she spoke, the courage she displayed, a certain modest yet resolute air, that lighted up her countenance, at once told the missionary that his new proselyte would not be an ordinary Christian. He accordingly carefully taught her many things, which he did not explain to all preparing for baptism. God doubtless infuses into hearts, of which he has especially reserved possession, a sort of purely spiritual sympathy, forming even in this life the sacred bond which will unite them hereafter in the abode of glory. Father de Lamberville, whom I knew well, was one of the most holy missionaries of New France, where he died, at Sault Saint Louis, spent with toil and austerity, and, if I may use the expression, in the arms of Charity. He often declared that in his first interview with Tegahkouita, he thought he could discern that God had great designs as to that virgin ; yet he would not exercise any haste in conferring baptism on her, and he adopted in her case all the precautions that experience has counselled as necessary, to make sure of the Indians, before administering the sacrament of regeneration.

The whole winter was spent in these trials, and on her side the young catechumen employed this precious time in rendering herself worthy of a grace, whose importance she fully comprehended. Before granting it to adults, the missionaries take great pains to inquire privately into their conduct and morality. Father de Lamberville asked all who knew Tegahkouita, and was greatly surprised to find that there was not one, even among those who had given her most to suffer, but sounded her praises. This was all the more glorious for her, as Indians are much given to slander, and naturally inclined to put an evil interpretation on the most innocent actions. The missionary accordingly no longer hesitated to grant her what she solicited with such earnestness. She was baptized on Easter Sunday, 1676, and received the name of Catharine.

The grace of the sacrament received into a heart which her uprightness and innocence had so well prepared, produced wondrous effects. Whatever idea the missionary had already conceived of the young Iroquois maiden, he was astonished to find in her, immediately after baptism, not a neophyte needing to be confirmed in the faith, but a soul filled with the most precious gifts of heaven, and whom he too would have to guide in the most sublime spiritual ways. In the outset her virtue excited the admiration of those even who were least inclined to imitate her, and those

on whom she depended, left her free to follow every impulse of her zeal, but this did not last long. The innocence of her life, the precautions which she took to avoid all that could in the least affect it, and especially her extreme reserve as to whatever could in the slightest degree offend purity, appeared to the young men of her village a reproach on the dissolute life they led, and many laid snares for her with the sole view of dimming a virtue which dazzled them.

On the other hand, although she had relaxed nothing in her domestic occupations, and was ever found ready to give her services to all, her relatives were displeased to see her give to prayer all the time left her, and to prevent her suspending on Sundays and holidays the work which the church forbids on those days consecrated to the Lord, they made her pass them without food. Seeing, however, that they gained nothing by this course, they had recourse to still more violent means ; they often ill-treated her in a most unbecoming manner ; when she went to the chapel, they sent young men to pursue her with hooting and pelt her with stones ; men either really or pretendedly drunk rushed upon her, as though they designed to take her life ; but, undismayed by these artifices and acts of violence, she continued her devotions as though she enjoyed the most perfect liberty.

One day when she was in her cabin, a young man entered abruptly, with flashing eyes, brandishing his hatchet as if intending to tomahawk her. At this sight she displayed no emotion, and bowed down her head to receive the blow ; but the madman, seized at the instant by a panic fear, fled as precipitately as though pursued by a war-party.. These first storms were succeeded by a still more dangerous persecution. Catharine's aunt was a woman of morose disposition, who was displeased with all that her niece did to satisfy her, for the simple reason that she could find nothing to reprove. One day the virtuous neophyte happened to call the husband of this woman by his own name, instead of calling him Father, as usual ;[1] her aunt imagined, or pretended to believe, that this familiar mode of speaking showed an improper connection between the uncle and niece, and she hastened on the spot to Father de Lamberville to assert that she had surprised Catharine soliciting her husband to sin. The missionary promised to examine the case, and when he learned on what this atrocious accusation rested, he gave the slanderer a rebuke that covered her with confusion ; but which ultimately increased the annoyance of the innocent girl.

Had all this involved merely suffering, than which nothing was more to

[1] L. H. Morgan has treated ably of the peculiar Iroquois terms of relationship.

her taste, she would never have thought of changing her position; but she feared that she could not always hold firm against the seduction of bad example, or escape being overcome gradually by human respect, so powerful in the Indian mind. She accordingly began to look for an asylum, where her innocence and her religion would be shielded from danger. La Prairie de la Magdeleine, where several Iroquois Christians began to settle, seemed to her well adapted, and she felt an ardent desire to remove thither; but this was not easily done.

Her uncle beheld with great displeasure the depopulation of his canton, and he declared himself the avowed enemy of all who contributed to it. It was therefore apparently impossible to obtain his consent, and it was not easy for Catherine to leave him without it. But God, who had destined her to be the example and ornament of this transplanted Christian colony, facilitated what had at first seemed impossible. She had an adopted sister, a neophyte like herself, married to a Christian very zealous for the conversion of his countrymen. This man had already taken up his abode at La Prairie de la Magdeleine, and he was one of those who, under various pretexts, traversed the Iroquois towns in order to make proselytes. He knew that the greatest favor he could do Catherine would be to take her to his home: he spoke of the matter to his wife, who confirmed him in his design, and earnestly exhorted him to give her sister this consolation.

He resolved on the project, and to effect it more surely, he pretended to go a hunting with one of his friends in the direction of New York, and set out, after warning Tegahkouita to hold herself in readiness at a fixed time. Fortunately for her her uncle was away, though not far distant, and he was almost at once informed of his niece's departure. Without losing a moment he set out in pursuit, bent on bringing her back dead or alive, and on tomahawking the first who resisted him. He soon overtook the two hunters, but not finding his niece with them, because, whenever they halted, they took the precaution to conceal her in the woods, he thought that he had been misinformed; accordingly, without avowing his purpose, he conversed for a time on indifferent topics and left them, convinced that Catharine had taken some other route and followed other guides.[1]

The holy virgin, rescued from this peril, gaily pursued her journey, and

[1] Charlevoix here follows Cholenec (compare his letter in Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 94:) but Chauchetière represents Catharine's going as effected by Cendre Chaude (ante vol. iii. p. 289,) and differs in the account of the pursuit. She bore letters to Fathers Fremin and Cholenec.

at last reached the bourne which had been the object of her prayers. This was in the month of October, 1677. Her sister had not yet a cabin to herself, and dwelt with her husband in that of a fervent Christian woman named Anastasia,[1] whose sole employment it was to prepare persons of her own sex for baptism. A hostess of this character and such exercises were greatly to the taste of Catharine. She was, moreover, charmed with all that she beheld done in the village, nor could she sufficiently admire the omnipotence of grace, which could transform wolves into lambs, nor chant the mercies of the Lord, to see men now dwelling in the purity of gospel morality, whose debauchery had more than once paralyzed her with horror.

Animated by new fervor at this sight, she gave herself unreservedly to God, renouncing in future the least thought of self, and began to run with great steps in the career of sanctity. Prayers, toil, spiritual conversation, was henceforward her sole occupation ; and after the example of Saint Anthony, she made it a duty to imitate every edifying trait that she perceived in those who composed this new church. She spent at the foot of the altar, all her spare time ; she lived solely by her own labor, and busied as she might be exteriorly, her heart was ever in constant communion with God.

She had not yet made her first communion when she arrived in the colony, and it is not usual in these missions to grant this favor to neophytes till after long trials. Catharine was fearful that she would be subjected to this rule, but her virtue, far more than her repeated entreaties, soon induced her director to make an exception in her favor, nor had he any reason to repent. The frequent communions, which she was permitted to receive, did not diminish in the least her fervor in preparing for them. It was enough to see her in her most ordinary actions to be roused to devotion ; but when she partook of the divine mysteries, it was impossible to be near her, and not be filled with most tender love for God.

When she was obliged to go with a hunting party, the distraction inseparable from that time deranged in nothing her interior life ; she built an oratory within her heart which she never quitted. She avoided company as much as she could, and when she could not, she imparted her recollectedness to others much more than she took part in their amusements. Yet there was nothing constrained in her manners, and her devotion was neither forbidding nor troublesome. She was even wonderfully dexterous in concealing from the public her private practices of

[1] Tegonhatsihongo, Chauchetière, ch. ix.

piety, and her austerities, which were great. One of her most common was to mingle earth with all she ate, and very few perceived it.[2]

Besides her director, without whose permission she did nothing of this kind, she concealed nothing from two women of great virtue, whose mutual intercourse served greatly to rouse them to an eminent sanctity. One was the Anastasia, who had welcomed her on her reaching the colony; the other, a young widow named Teresa,[2] who after living some time in utter forgetfulness of her baptismal promises, returned to her duty on the occasion of a great danger, from which she was convinced God had miraculously delivered her. Yet even after this she led quite a lukewarm life, deferring from day to day the execution of the design she had conceived as atoning by penance for past disorders.

A conversation with Catharine completed her conversion. She was one day attentively looking at the church, then erecting at Sault Saint Louis,[3] to which they had just transferred the Iroquois town from La Prairie de la Magdeleine; Catharine perceived her and felt inspired to address her, although she had never yet spoken to her. To open conversation, she asked her which part of the new church was intended for women, and Teresa pointed it out to her. "Alas!" replied Catharine, "it is not in these material temples that God takes most pleasure, our heart is the sanctuary most agreeable to him. But how often, woe is me, have I driven him from that heart, where he wishes to reign alone? Do I not richly deserve that he should, for my ingratitude, close forever on me the door of his sanctuary, erecting to his glory?"

These words touched Teresa to the quick; she reproached herself with her tepidity, and felt strongly urged to fulfill at last what she had so frequently promised the Almighty. She at once revealed it all to Catharine, and found in that holy virgin an open heart, which induced her to withhold nothing that was passing in her own, and which completely gained her to Christ. Her penance was of the character of those, which almost without intermediate steps raise the greatest sinners, and what is still more difficult, the most cowardly souls to the most heroic perfection. She became attached to Catharine by bonds which divine love drew still more closely, and henceforward these two chosen souls concealed from each other nothing bearing on their interior life. They consoled each other,

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[1] As to her austerities, see Chauchetière, ch. vi.

[2] Mary Teresa Teguaiaguenta.

[3] Not where the village is now, but at the point where Catharine's cross still stands. The village had a fort with four bastions and a neat stone church, completed early in 1678, but no trace remains.

gave counsel in doubts and strength in the assaults which hell and the world more than once made on them.

About this time Catharine had a very severe one to sustain, coming too from the very persons from whom she supposed herself least likely to anticipate anything of the kind. The same adopted sister who had attracted her thither, took it into her head to marry her off, and there is nothing that she did not resort to, to overcome her resistance. She began by telling her that though she and her husband deemed it a pleasure to meet all her wants, still it might well be that, burdened with a large family, they might not always be in a position to continue supplying her with necessaries, and that moreover, in case of their death, she would be left without support.

The virtuous virgin was the more affected at these words because she was not a burden to her sister : she nevertheless thanked her for her attention and promised to reflect on what she had just said. She immediately went to her confessor, and expressed her grief that a sister who till then had given her so many marks of sincere friendship, now wished to hamper her in the only thing in which she wished to be free. The Father, after hearing her calmly, told her, that, in reality, her sister was not so far wrong in speaking as she had done ; that she should thank her for the precautions which she wished her to take in order to assure a decent subsistence ; and that the matter deserved calm consideration. "It is no longer time to deliberate," replied Catharine; "I am no longer my own, I have given myself unreservedly to Jesus Christ." "But," rejoined the missionary, "who will nourish you, and assist you in your infirmities, should God remove your sister?" "That is my least anxiety," replied the generous neophyte ; "he who feeds the birds of the air, will not let me want the little I need to live ?" The missionary did not seem to yield ; he dismissed his penitent, bidding her again consult the Lord on a point in which he did not yet see manifest the Divine Will. She then retired very sad.

The same day her sister again pressed the matter, and finding her inflexible, induced Anastasia, whose age and virtue caused both to regard her as a mother, to speak to her on the point. Anastasia at first entered into the young woman's views, because it was unexampled among the Iroquois, for a girl to persevere in celibacy ; the Missionaries having so far deemed it inexpedient to give these Indians the counsel which St. Paul gave the primitive Christians. Anastasia accordingly undertook to persuade Catharine to conform to her sister's wishes. She gained nothing, and seemed somewhat nettled. This she showed Catharine by

reproaches and threats of interposing the authority of their common director.

The holy virgin anticipated her, and after assuring her spiritual Father that she could no longer doubt of the will of God, she begged him to consent, in order to put an end to this persecution, that she should take a vow of virginity. The missionary replied that an engagement of that kind should not be taken lightly, that he gave her three days to think it over, and that during that time he permitted her to redouble her prayers and austerities to obtain from the Almighty to know what he desired of her. Catharine left him promising obedience, but a quarter of an hour after returned, and approaching him with an air that was not natural to her, exclaimed: "Father, I have considered it all; I will never have any spouse but Jesus Christ." Her action and the tone in which she spoke, touched the director; he saw clearly that it would be vain to oppose a movement which had every mark of divine inspiration. He consoled his penitent by giving her hope of his consent to what she desired; he exhorted her then to think of nothing but gaining the heart of the heavenly Spouse whom she had chosen, and promised her to stop all further importunity on the part of her sister or her friends.

She had scarcely gone, when Anastasia entered the missionary's abode with loud complaints of Catharine's stubbornness. After hearing her without interruption, the missionary rebuked her mildly for her precipitation in blaming what she did not know, and for the slight esteem which she seemed to entertain for a state which raises mortal creatures to the condition of angels. Anastasia received this correction with humility, and Catharine ever after found in her a truly Christian friend, disposed to second her in her pious designs, and attentive to relieve her in her wants and afflictions. On her side, Catharine believed herself bound by the resolution she had just taken, to live more secluded than ever, and practice humility, charity and penance. She was seen to advance visibly in virtue. Already naught was spoken of in the country except her eminent sanctity. The people were never weary admiring the secret spring of Divine Goodness, which, amid a nation the most hostile to the establishment of Christianity, had drawn forth a young virgin, to make her a perfect model of all Christian virtues.

There then reigned in the mission of Sault Saint Louis a spirit of mortification which went to great length. These neophytes had just been declared, by all the Iroquois cantons, enemies of their country, and they confidently expected that after this outburst, all who fell into the hands of their idolatrous brethren, would be given over without mercy to the

most fearful tortures. Hence they thought only of preparing for martyrdom by all the means that austerity can suggest for chastising the flesh. Men, women and children even, in this matter proceeded to excesses which the missionaries never would have permitted had they been fully informed in regard to them.

Catharine, more fully possessed by the interior spirit than all the others, was too the most unsparing to herself of all. She consulted naught but her fervor, and believed herself in no wise bound to depend in this on her director as formerly, believing that this general concert of the whole village could not be unknown to him, and that his silence in regard to it was a consent. She was accordingly soon reduced to a state of languor and suffering from which she never recovered.[1] Some time after she paid a visit to Montreal, where the sight of the Hospital Nuns, whom she had never even heard mentioned, increased her desire to consecrate herself to God by the vow of chastity ; she renewed her entreaties to her confessor, who judged it his duty no longer to withhold his consent. She accordingly took the long desired vow, with a joy that seemed to revive all her strength, and she was the first of her tribe who took upon herself such an engagement with heaven.

The heavenly spouse of chaste souls was not slow in giving her manifest proofs that he had accepted her sacrifice, and in treating her as his well-beloved spouse. She, on her side, exerted herself to correspond to his caresses and the internal communications with which he favored her by perfect fidelity and unreserved love. But her strength could not long sustain its ardor, and the flesh soon gave way beneath the efforts of the spirit. She fell into a dangerous disease, which left her only a lingering existence subject to constant pain. In this state she united herself more and more to Jesus Christ by meditating on His death and sufferings, and the frequent reception of the sacraments. She could no longer endure human conversation ; Anastasia and Theresa were the only two persons with whom she retained any kind of intimacy, because they spoke to her only of God.

She felt well only at the foot of the altar, where, buried in profound contemplation, and shedding torrents of tears, whose inexhaustible fountain was His love and the wound it had inflicted on her heart, she often so forgot the wants of her body, as not even to feel the cold, with which her whole frame was benumbed. She always came from this contemplation with renewed love of suffering, and it is unconceivable how ingenious

[1] Chauchetière intimates that this occurred while Father Fremin, her prudent director, was absent in Europe, ch. vi.

her mind was in inventing means to crucify her flesh. Sometimes she walked barefooted on the ice and snow, till she lost all feeling. Sometimes she strewed her couch with thorns. She rolled for three days in succession on branches of thorns, which pierced deeply into her flesh, causing inexplicable pain. Another time she burned her feet, as is done to prisoners, wishing thus to give herself the stamp and mark of a slave of Christ; but what attests far better the solidity of her virtue, is the unalterable gentleness, patience, joy even, manifested by her in the sufferings which she experienced toward the close of life.

It would seem that no sacrifice should be difficult to those who carry mortification as far as this holy virgin did. Yet this is rarely the case. Men are often astonished to behold those who practice the greatest austerities, more sensible than others to any annoying or humilating event that happens, simply because there is nothing of their own choice in it. Self-will is always the last victim, and is often found missing from the holocaust. Catharine understood the superiority of the crosses presented by the hand of the Lord over those which are self-imposed, and sufferings in which her will had least share, were always dearest to her heart.[1]

She was at last attacked by a malady, which was at once deemed mortal; and that at a time when the labors in the field so engaged all, that she could scarcely expect care from any one. She remained alone whole days with a platter of Indian corn, and a little water beside her bed. Delighted to behold herself thus forsaken of men, she communed constantly with her God, and found the days only too short. On Tuesday in Holy Week, 1678, she grew worse, and received Holy Viaticum. The missionary wished also to administer Extreme Unction at once, but she assured him that it could be deferred till next day. She spent all the ensuing night in a loving colloquy with her divine Saviour, and with His Holy Mother, whom she had always singularly honored, regarding herself as a spouse of Christ, attached to the retinue of the Queen of Virgins.

On Wednesday morning she received the sacred anointing, and about three o'clock in the afternoon she expired after a gentle agony of half an hour, retaining her complete consciousness and sound judgment till her last sigh.[2] Thus lived and thus in her twenty-fifth year died Catharine

[1] Charlevoix seems to allude to a false accusation under which Catharine labored for a time. Chauchetière, B'k II. ch. ix.

[2] Chauchetière details her last moments. B'k III., ch. 3. She died April 17, 1680. See, too Cholenek's letter, Lettres Edifiantes—Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 82, 113. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, p. 351, gives the same year, 1680. If it had occurred in 1678, the Relation 1673–9 would not have been silent as to it; but there is no allusion to it in that volume, or in the matter for 1678 in the Relations Inédites.

Tegahkouita. The example of her most holy life had produced a very great fervor among the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis. The wonders which God soon began to work in favor of those who had recourse to her intercession, are still at this day (1743) for these neophytes and indeed all for New France a powerful motive to serve in spirit and in truth so liberal a Master, who, without respect of persons, lavishes his most precious gifts on those who abandon themselves to Him without reserve.

Her countenance, extremely attenuated by austerity and by her last illness, suddenly changed as soon as she ceased to live. It was seen assuming a rosy tint that she had never had, nor were her features the same. Nothing could be more beautiful, but with that beauty which love of virtue inspires. The people were never weary gazing on her, and each retired, his heart full of the desire to become a saint. As a distinction her body was placed in a coffin, and her tomb soon became celebrated by the concourse of the faithful, who flocked from all parts of Canada, and by the miracles wrought there. There are preserved especially the juridical attestations of two persons, whose character leaves no doubt as to the truth of their deposition. One is the Abbé de la Colombiere (brother of the Jesuit Father, Claude de la Colombiere, celebrated for his virtues and eloquence,) Grand Archdeacon, and Vicar-General of Quebec, and Clerical Councillor in the Superior Council of New France. The other is Mr. du Luth, captain of an infantry company, one of the bravest officers the King has had in the colony, and whose name is frequently cited in this history.

The former declares in writing under his own hand that having been sick from the month of January to that of June, 1695, with a slow fever, which had baffled all remedies, and a dysentery that nothing could check, he was advised to bind himself by a vow that if it pleased God to restore his health, he would proceed to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier at Sault St. Louis, to pray at the tomb of Catharine Tegahkouita ; that he yielded to this advice, and that the fever left him that very day, and that the dysentery diminished considerably ; that having set out some days after to fulfill his vow, he was entirely cured before he had proceeded more than a league.

The second certifies juridically, that having been for twenty-five years tortured with the gout, accompanied by excessive pain that sometimes lasted for three months without respite, he invoked Catharine Tegahkouita, an Iroquois Virgin, who died at Sault St. Louis in the odor of sanctity, and promised to visit her tomb, if, through her intercession, God delivered him from this cruel disease : that at the end of a novena which

he performed in her honor, he was perfectly cured, and that for the last fifteen months he had felt no symptoms of gout.[1]

Every year on the anniversary of the death of Good Catharine—*la Bonne Catherine*, (this being the name under which, out of respect for the Holy See, this holy virgin is honored in Canada) several parishes in the neighborhood come to chant in the Church of Sault St. Louis a solemn Mass of the Holy Trinity. A parish priest at Lachine, a town on Montreal Island, by name Mr. Remy, who had recently arrived from France, on being informed by his parishioners of this custom, replied that he deemed it a duty not to sanction by his presence a public cultus not yet permitted by the Church. Most, on hearing him speak thus, could not refrain from saying that he would soon be punished for his refusal, and in fact he fell dangerously ill the same day. He at once understood the cause of this unexpected attack. He bound himself by a vow to follow the example of his predecessors, and was instantly cured. Thus New France, like the capital of Old France, behold the glory of a poor Indian girl and of a shepherdess, shine above that of so many apostolic men martyrs and other saints of all conditions of life. God doubtless wishing for our instruction and the consolation of the humble to glorify His saints in proportion to their having been little and obscure on earth.

II.

STEPHEN TEGANANOKOA.[2]

The Iroquois towns were visibly depopulated by the withdrawal of the many families that took refuge in the Mission of Sault St. Louis, there to embrace Christianity, or profess it in greater liberty, or be removed from the allurements of the heathens ; the latter were so exasperated at this, that they declared enemies of their country all the Christian Iroquois who had abandoned it, and this rage won for many the crown of martyrdom. I have spoken of some in my history. I now proceed to make known others, who could not be introduced without interrupting the narrative.

[1] These attestations in full are in Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xii., translated in Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 115–6.

[2] The following lives are drawn from the Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xiii., Paris, 1720, in English in Kip's Jesuit Missions p. 117. They were probably based on a work of Father Chauchetière "On the Perseverance of Indians who gave their lives for the Faith amid the fires or beneath the tomahawk of the Iroquois," no longer extant.

The first is Stephen Tegananokoa. He came to Sault St. Louis with his wife, sister-in-law and six children, being at the time thirty-five years of age. He had nothing savage in his disposition, and his sincere and tender attachment to his wife, in a country where license reigns, and men so commonly change wives, would alone stand as a proof of the innocence of his previous life. As soon as he arrived in the new town, he earnestly solicited baptism, with all his family, and they obtained it after the ordinary trials. They were soon the edification of that rising church. Stephen watched over the education of his children with the zeal of a missionary. He sent them every day to morning and evening prayers, and to the instruction given to the young, himself setting them an excellent example by his regular attendance on all the exercises of religion, and his exactness in receiving the Holy Eucharist frequently.

By this pious life he seemed to be preparing to triumph over the enemy of Jesus Christ and to defend his faith amid the most cruel torments. In the month of August, 1690, he set out for the fall hunt, accompanied by his wife and one other Indian. In the month of September they were surprised by a band of fourteen Cayugas, who bound them and took them to their canton. As soon as Stephen beheld himself in the hands of these savage men, he had no doubt but that he would be condemned to the stake. He warned his wife of this, exhorted her to persevere in the faith, and in case she returned to Sault St. Louis, to bring up their children in the fear of God.

The three prisoners were taken to Onondaga ; God wishing apparently that Stephen's constancy and fortitude should shine forth in a place then famous for the assemblage of a host of Indians from all the Iroquois cantons and for the fearful licentiousness prevalent there. Although it is the custom to await prisoners at the entrance of the village, the joy felt at Onondaga on their having in their hands some of the settlers at Sault St. Louis, made all stream out far in advance to meet them. Each had decked himself in his finest attire, as for a day of triumph ; all were armed with hatchets, knives, clubs, or whatever they laid hands on, and fury was depicted on every countenance.

When they reached the prisoners, one of these Indians approaching Stephen, said : "Brother, thou art dead : impute thy misfortune to thyself alone, for thou left us to go and live among those dogs of Christians at the Sault." "I am a Christian," replied Stephen, "and I glory in being one. Do with me what you will : I fear neither your outrages nor fires. I willingly give my life for a God who shed all his blood for me." Scarcely had he ended these words when the furious savages sprang on,

and gashed him deep on the arms, legs and whole body ; they then cut off several of his fingers and tore out all his nails. One of the band then cried to him : "Pray to God." "Yes," replied Stephen, "I will pray," and raising his fettered hands, he made, as well as he could, the sign of the cross, pronouncing aloud in his own language, these words : "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Half his remaining fingers were immediately hacked off, and again they cried : "Now pray to your God." Again he made the sign of the cross and they instantly cut off all the rest of his fingers, then for the third time called on him to pray, loading him with insults. As he endeavored to make the sign of the cross again with the palm of his hand, it was cut off entirely, and he was slashed wherever he had made the sign of the cross.

After this bloody prelude, the prisoners were led to the village, and near a great fire in which stones had been heated red hot. Several were placed between Stephen's thighs, which were then violently pressed together. He was next ordered to sing in the manner of the country ; as he refused to do so, but began to repeat aloud the prayers which he was daily accustomed to recite, one of the savages took a burning brand and drove it far into his mouth ; then, before he had time to breathe, he was tied to the stake. When the courageous neophyte beheld himself amid the instruments of his torture and a crowd of executioners, he looked calmly upon them and said : "Satiate yourselves with the pleasure of burning me, spare me not, my sins deserve even greater sufferings than you can inflict ; the more you torture me, the more you increase the reward prepared for me in heaven."

These words rendered them still more furious ; each seized a brand or red hot iron, with which they slowly burned all the body of this holy man, who endured the cruel martyrdom without breathing a sigh ; he even seemed as calm as though he suffered nothing, his eyes raised to heaven, and buried as it were in profound contemplation. At last his strength beginning to fail, he asked a few moments' truce, and then rallying all his fervor, he made his last prayer. He commended his soul to Christ and implored him to pardon his executioners. They at once resumed his torture ; his constancy did not flag and he gave up his soul to his Creator triumphing by his courage over all the Iroquois cruelty.

His wife's life was spared, as he had foretold her ; she remained some time a prisoner in the country, where neither entreaties nor threats could shake her faith. On recovering her liberty, she proceeded to Agnier,[1] which was the place of her birth. There she remained till her

[1] The Mohawk Canton and its chief town are both thus styled in French.

son came for her and took her back to Sault St. Louis. The Indian who had been captured with Stephen, escaped with the loss of some fingers and a deep wound in the leg. He was then taken to Cayuga, where all means were employed to force him to marry again, and plunge in all the debaucheries in which that tribe was sunk ; but he constantly replied that his religion forbade both. Having at last come towards Montreal with a band of warriors of that canton, he secretly withdrew and returned to his Mission, where he ever after lived a most edifying life.

III.

FRANCES GONANNHATENHA.

Two years after a woman displayed a constancy, in no wise inferior to that of the virtuous Stephen. Her name was Frances Gonannhatenha, and she had been baptized at Onondaga, her native place, whence she had taken refuge at Sault Saint Louis. There she edified all by her piety, her modesty and especially her charity ; and as she was in easy circumstances, the poor always found her an assured resource in their necessities. One day when she was three leagues from the village, engaged in fishing, she heard the enemy were making a descent on Sault Saint Louis ; she at once embarked in a canoe with two of her friends to go to the assistance of her husband. The women arrived in time to save him ; he jumped into a canoe, and this little band deemed themselves safe, when the canoe was suddenly surrounded by a whole Iroquois army about a quarter of a league from the village. The husband's head was at once cut off and the three women led to the camp.

The cruelties perpetrated on them the first night they spent there, convinced them that they were condemned to death. The savages amused themselves with plucking out their nails, and then burning the bleeding fingers in their pipes. The two companions of Frances were then given one to the Oneida, the other to the Seneca canton. She herself was given to her own sister, who was of high rank in Onondaga. This woman, discarding the affection which nature and blood should have inspired, left her sister to the discretion of the sachems and braves, which was equivalent to condemning her to the stake. In fact, as soon as she arrived at the village, she was compelled to ascend a scaffold. There, in presence of her kindred and of all who crowded around to witness her torture, she declared in a loud voice that she was a Christian, and

deemed herself happy to die in her own country and by the hands of her kinsmen, like Jesus Christ who had been crucified by his own countrymen.

One of her kinsmen, who was present, had five years previously gone to Sault Saint Louis to induce Frances to return to her own canton ; and having failed, still harbored resentment. The words just uttered by this fervent Christian roused him to fury. He sprang on the scaffold, tore off the crucifix which she wore on her neck, and with a knife which he held in his hand, he cut a cross on her breast. "There," he cried, "is the cross you love so much and which prevented your leaving the Sault, when I took the pains to go for you." "Thank you, brother," replied Frances, "the cross you have torn from me I might lose ; but you give me one that I shall not lose even in death."

She then spoke of the Mysteries of the Faith with an unction and a power far above the capacity of an Indian woman. "Fearful as the torments are to which you condemn me," said she in conclusion, "do not think my lot one to be deplored. It is your own that calls for tears and sobs ; this fire that you have lighted to torture me will burn but a few hours ; but another fire that will never be extinguished, is prepared for you in hell. Yet it is in your power to avoid it ; follow my example, become Christians, live up to the laws of that holy religion and you will escape the eternal flames. Moreover, I declare that I wish no evil to those whom I behold ready to take my life. Not only do I forgive them my death, but I pray the Supreme Arbiter of life to open their eyes to the truth, to touch their heart, and grant them grace to be converted and die in the sentiments with which He inspires me."

These words of the holy widow, far from moving the savage hearts, only increased their rage. They led her for three successive days through all the lodges, to make her the sport of a brutal mob. On the fourth day they took her back to her stake, and bound her. They then applied to all parts of her body lighted torches and gun barrels heated red hot. This lasted several hours without her uttering the least cry. Her eyes were fixed on heaven, and one would have said she suffered nothing. This is the testimony given by the Sieur de Saint Michel,[1] then a prisoner at Onondaga, but who escaped some time after, as they were preparing to burn him alive. He witnessed all the tortures inflicted on Frances, and on arriving at Montreal gave an account, which drew tears from the whole town. He declared that he had been unable to restrain his own, especially when the courageous martyr, having had her scalp torn off and

[1] Ante, p. 219.

the bleeding skull covered with hot ashes, was unbound; for instead of running, as others do, whom this torturing renders frantic, she knelt down, and raising her eyes to heaven, offered to the Almighty the last breath of life left her. A shower of stones that instant rained upon her consummating her sacrifice, in the very act of prayer, and most intimate union with God.

IV.

MARGARET GARANGOUAS.

A THIRD victim whom the mission of Sault St. Louis sent to heaven, was immolated the next year in the same village. She was a young woman of twenty-four, named Margaret Garangouas, also an Onondaga, and baptized at the age of thirteen. She married soon after, and God blessed her marriage by giving her four children whom she brought up in piety. The youngest was still at the breast, and actually in her arms, when, towards the fall of 1693, while visiting her field, a quarter of a league from the fort, she fell into the hands of two Indians of her canton who led her to Onondaga. On the first tidings of her arrival, all poured out of the village to await the captive on a knoll which she had to pass. As soon as she appeared, the air resounded with fearful cries, which awakened only gloomy forebodings.

No sooner had she reached the knoll, than she was surrounded by four hundred Indians. They began by tearing her infant from her arms, then stripped her naked. After this, numbers rushed upon her, slashing her with their knives till her body was nothing but one wound, and the blood streamed from every pore. A Frenchman who had witnessed this pitiable sight, considered it a prodigy that she did not expire on the spot. Margaret perceived this man, recognized him, and addressing him by name, said: "You see to what a state I am reduced. I have only a few instants to live. Thanks be to God, I fear not death, and horrible as that may be now prepared for me, my sins deserve still more. Beseech the merciful Jesus to pardon mine and give me strength to suffer."

She was then led to a cabin where a Frenchwoman from Montreal was a prisoner; the latter seized the first moments to exhort Margaret to endure with constancy a temporary torture in view of the eternal rewards that would follow it. Margaret thanked her for the charitable counsels which she gave her, and repeated what she had already stated to the other French prisoner. She added that since she had the happiness to

be baptized, she had never ceased imploring God for the grace to suffer for his love; that now she could not doubt but that heaven had heard her vows, that she died happy, without any feeling of resentment against her kindred and countrymen now transformed into executioners ; that on the contrary she conjured the Almighty to enlighten them with the light of faith, and that her only anxiety was for the salvation of her son.

The two captive women were still conversing on the truths of Eternity and the happiness of the Saints in heaven, when a band of Indians came to lead Margaret to a spot where she was to be burned alive. No regard was shown to her youth, her sex, or her birth, although she was the daughter of the one who was in a manner chief of the village, and in whose name all the affairs of the nation were transacted.[1] As a Christian and inhabitant of Sault Saint Louis, she was too gentle to find favor with these heathens. She was accordingly bound to the stake and her whole body burned with an inhumanity that could have been inspired, especially in the case of a woman, only by hatred against her religion. She endured this long and rigorous martyrdom without betraying any sign of pain, and as long as a breath of life remained she was heard invoking the holy names : Jesus, Mary, Joseph.

At first she asked from time to time a little water ; but she soon repented this weakness, and begged them to refuse her if she asked again. " My Saviour," she said, " suffered great thirst when dying for me on the cross ; is it not just that I should suffer the same torment for Him ?". Her executioners burned her from noon to sunset ; then, impatient to see her expire before night obliged them to withdraw, they unbound her from the stake, scalped her, covered her head with hot cinders and bade her run. She knelt down, however, and raising her hands and eyes to heaven, commended her soul to the Lord. Although struck repeatedly with a club, she continued to pray. At last one of these savages, crying: " Will not this dog of a Christian die ?" seized a large knife and attempted to plunge it into her belly, but the knife broke and fell in pieces on the ground. Another took the stake to which she had been bound and beat her over the head. As she still showed some signs of life, she was taken up and thrown on a heap of dry wood; this was set on fire and she was soon consumed.

Her son had been given to an Iroquois, who wished to revenge on this little creature an insult which he considered himself as having received from the French. Three days after the mother's death, a death-cry was

[1] Evidently the Atotarho or Tododaho, the most dignified of all the hereditary sachems of the League. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 64.

heard at nightfall. All the Indians ran to the spot from which it came, and the Frenchwoman from Montreal with the rest. There they found a fire kindled, and the babe which they were preparing to cast into the flames. The very Indians could not but be moved at the sight ; but they were still more so, when they saw a little Innocent, only a year old, raise its hands to heaven with a sweet smile, and thrice call its mother, showing by its gestures that it sought to embrace her. The Frenchwoman felt assured that its mother had appeared to it ; and it is more than probable that she had besought the Almighty to restore it to her at once in order to secure its eternal salvation. Be that as it may, the child was not given to the flames. One of the most influential men in the village seized it by the feet and dashed its head against a stone.

V.

STEPHEN HOONHOUENTSIONTAOUET.

I conclude with the history of a neophyte, who, after escaping the stake which was prepared for him, had nevertheless the happiness of giving his life, not to be exposed to the danger of losing his faith. He was a young Mohawk, named Stephen Hoonhouentsiontaouet. He was captured by one of his own nation, who took him to his canton. As he had many relatives his life was spared, and he was given to the people of his own lodge, who earnestly persuaded him to follow the customs of the nation, that is to say, plunge into the most fearful debauchery. He met their solicitations with the truths of salvation, which he explained very well, and never ceased exhorting them to follow him to Sault Saint Louis, in order to embrace Christianity there. But he spoke to people born and bred in vice, which they had made too alluring a habit, to bring themselves to renounce it. Hence his example and exhortations only served to harden their hearts.

When he saw that his stay at Agnier was of no advantage to his kindred, and became dangerous even to his own salvation, he resolved to return to his Mission. On imparting his design to his relatives, they consented all the more willingly as his departure would relieve them of an importunate censor, whom they could no longer endure. He accordingly for the second time left his family and country, to put his religion in safety. He had scarcely set out, before the news of his departure reached a lodge where some young men were on a debauch. The tidings inflamed their

heads and completed what rum had begun. After many invectives against the Christians, they concluded that they should not suffer any one thus to prefer their society to that of the real Iroquois ; that it was a slur on the whole nation, and that Stephen must be compelled to return to the village, or be tomahawked if he refused, in order to intimidate any who might be tempted to follow his example.

Immediately three gave chase to the neophyte, whom they soon overtook, and approached, tomahawk in hand. "Retrace your steps," they cried, "and follow us; you die if you resist ; we have the orders of the sachems to tomahawk you." The generous Christian meekly replied that they were masters of his life ; but that he preferred losing it to risking his faith and his salvation ; that he was going to Sault Saint Louis, resolved to end his days there, if he was so happy as to reach it. As he saw that after this distinct statement, these brutes prepared to kill him, he begged them to give him a few moments to pray. They granted his request, and the holy young man kneeling down tranquilly offered up his devotions. He thanked God for the grace bestowed on him of dying a Christian and a martyr ; he prayed for his infidel relations, and especially for those who now turned his executioners, and who that very instant clove open his head. These details were learned from some Mohawks, who subsequently came to settle at Sault Saint Louis.

HEROIC ACTION OF A CHRISTIAN FAMILY.

I close by a trait well adapted to show with what fervor God was served by the Iroquois of Sault Saint Louis. Paul, one of these Indians, had a daughter who passed among the Indians for a beauty ; his wife, no less virtuous than himself, begged him to join her in asking God to deprive their child of an advantage which might imperil her innocence. He consented with joy ; they joined in prayer and were heard. A cataract formed in one of their daughter's eyes, deforming her greatly. She soon after became consumptive, and died at the age of seventeen, in her mother's arms, exhorting her with her last breath to persevere in the faith. Her virtuous parents, deeming her salvation assured by such a holy death, rendered sincere thanksgiving to God.

PARTICULARS AS TO SOME OTHER MISSIONS.

The Huron Missions, as long as they subsisted; the Abénaqui Missions, which still subsist; the Missions nearer Quebec, such as those of Three Rivers, Sylleri, Loretto, and Tadoussac, have not, except the first, had the same opportunity as the Iroquois Mission of Sault Saint Louis and the Mountain to give martyrs to the Church; but have furnished no less examples of all Christian virtues, at which the French, daily witnesses of the fact, were unwearied in their admirations. Details are found in the Letters of Mother Mary of the Incarnation, the truth of which it cannot be permitted to doubt; and I can, I think, assert that these esteemed letters, both by the manner in which they are written and by the Spirit of God which they breathe, will be an eternal monument of the fecundity of grace in barbarous and savage hearts. Thus wrote that illustrious foundress to her son Dom Claude Martin, a Benedictine monk of the congregation of St. Maur, in August, 1644.[1]

"You ask me, moreover, whether our Indians are as perfect as I state in my letters. I will tell you that in point of manners, I mean their mode of acting and paying compliments, you will not find French politeness; we have not sought to teach them this, but to impress firmly the Commandments of God and of the Church; the Points and Mysteries of our Faith, the Prayers and Practices of our religion, such as the sign of the cross, examination of conscience, and like actions of piety. An Indian makes his confession as well as a religious; he is candid to the utmost, and makes much of the least trifles. When they fall they perform public penance with admirable humility. Take an example. Indians have no other drink than the broth of the sagamity kettle, be it meat, or Indian corn, or boiled water, or pure water. When the French gave them a taste of brandy, they found it so to their taste, that they prefer it to all other cheer; but the mischief is, that when they can get it, they have only to take one drink to become madmen and frantic. The reason is supposed to be that they eat only fresh things, neither knowing nor using salt. This drink generally kills them. Our Governor has accordingly under severe penalty forbid giving or trading any to them. Nevertheless when the ships come in it is impossible to prevent the sailors selling them some secretly. Old Christian Indians and their families do not fall into these excesses; it is the heathen with a few dissolute young men. Yet this year it happened that some fell into this fault, and to punish it

[1] Choix de Lettres Historiques, p. 104.

the sachems, with the Reverend Father Superior of this Mission, condemned them to pay a great number of skins for the decorations of the chapel, and moreover to pass three days without entering the church, and to go only twice a day to offer their prayers at the door, attended by the innocent in order to aid them to obtain mercy. . . . . Others make a public declaration of their sins in the church of the French: others fast three days on bread and water. As they do not often fall into these excesses, this kind of penance is very rare. Still it is with Indians as with the French ; there are more and there are less devout ; but generally speaking the Indians are more devout than the French; and for this reason they are not mingled together, the Indians being put into a separate town, for fear of their imitating the manner of some Frenchmen. Not but that the latter are pretty well behaved in this country ; but Indians are not capable of French liberty, even when in bounds.

"I cannot tell you all that I know of the fervor of these new plants : although we are perceptibly touched by it, we begin to lose our astonishment, so accustomed are we to witness it; but Frenchmen just arrived, who had seen nothing of the kind in France, weep for joy to behold wolves transformed into lambs, and wild beasts into children of God. The Chief of the Sylleri Indians, before setting out for the war against the Iroquois, came to me and said : 'Mother! I come to see you, to tell you that we are going to meet the enemy : if they kill us it matters not, indeed it is long since they began to do so, and even take and kill the French, our friends, with those who instruct us. We go to war not because they kill us but because they kill our friends. Pray for us ; for we have offended God, and therefore He chastises us. The young men especially do not behave well. I tell them: You offend God, and He punishes us ; amend your lives and He will be appeased. Such a one,' naming him, 'has again committed a serious fault for which I wished to expel him from among us ; but the Father Superior told me : Wait till spring and he will reform. The Father is too good to have waited so long : Spring is past and he has not reformed. He draws the devil among us, and that is the source of all our misfortunes. Pray then for us, all of you ; for we know not what will become of us on account of our offences.'

"In a public harangue made in the church, in which Rev. Father le Quien[1] had rebuked the young men, this chief raised his voice and made a public and general confession of all the faults that he had com-

[1] Father John de Quen. Ante ii.,

mitted from the age of seven years, when he became a Christian, adding: 'It is I, brethren, who draw down all these miseries that befall us; you see it by what I have just made known of my infidelity to God's graces, since I became His child; but He is good; take heart, do not despair; if we serve Him, He will show us mercy.'

"An Indian woman said at our lattice: 'God does me many favors; formerly the death of my children so afflicted me, that nothing in the world could console me; now my mind is so convinced of God's wisdom and goodness, that should He deprive me of them all, I should not feel sad; for I think in myself, if a longer life were necessary for my child the better to work out its salvation, He who made all, would not refuse it, since He is so good and nothing is impossible to Him: now that He summons it to Himself, we must say, since He knows all, that He perhaps sees that it would cease to believe in Him, and commit sins which would plunge it into hell. In this thought I say to Him: 'Dispose of me, Thou who hast made all, and of my children. Shouldst Thou try me in all possible manners, yet will I never cease to believe in Thee, or love and obey Thee, for I will all that Thou wilt.' Then I say to my children whom I see die: 'Go, my child; go, behold in heaven Him who made all when you are there, pray to Him for me, that I too may go thither when I die. I will offer up prayers for your soul, that you may soon leave purgatory.' This same woman, Louisa, one day came to me to recite a long prayer that she had composed for the warriors. It was conceived in such touching terms, that my heart was melted. God seems to delight in trying her faith, depriving her of all her children one after another since her baptism.

"You see by the little that I have said, the sentiments of our good Christians. Their consciences are so tender, that a young man and woman having this year taken their child on their hunt, it died in the woods in their arms. They had so great a fear of displeasing God by burying it in unconsecrated earth, that for three or four months, the mother always carried it around her neck over precipices, rocks, through woods, snow and ice with untold hardship. They came here for Easter, and interred their child, which they presented wrapped up in a skin."

"It is ravishing," says she in another letter to the same, September 10, 1646,[1] "to see our good Sylleri Indians, and the great care they take that God be properly served in their town; that the laws of the Church be inviolably kept and faults punished so as to appease God. One of the great anxieties of the chiefs is to banish all that can occasion sin in general

[1] Choix de Lettres Historiques, p. 140.

or in particular. You cannot visit the chapèl without finding some Indian at prayer with so much devotion that it is a ravishing sight. If any one is found who belies his faith or Christian morals, he withdraws into self exile, well aware that, willing or unwilling, he must do penance or be shamefully expelled from the town. Some days ago a young man had a disagreement with his wife; they were brought before the chiefs, who condemned the man to be put in irons in a cellar of the fort, there to fast three days on bread and water; and the woman was condemned to the same punishment, which was executed in our monastery. These poor people performed their penance with so much devotion, that I believe their fault was remitted the moment the sentence was pronounced. The woman would not have even a handful of straw under her; 'for, said she, 'I wish to pay God, whom I have offended.'"

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